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Bloc, Foreign Health Ministries Hold Conference

AU1104074390 Sofia BTA in English 0630 GMT 11 Apr 90

[Text] Sofia, April 11 (BTA)—At a meeting held in this capital city between representatives of the ministries of health of the GDR, Bulgaria, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the USSR, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, it was stressed that these countries governments allot insufficient means from their national incomes to finance this public sphere.

This meeting took place before the WHO General Assembly 43 session which is to be held from 7 to 19 May in Geneva. Cooperation with the WHO was the priority issue at the meeting. The delegations reached agreement to motion at the General Assembly the issue for helping the national programs "Health For Everybody Till The Year 2000," as well as the issue for aids combat and prophylaxis.

The delegations stressed that the changes which will take place in their countries, make imperative a new strategy in health care which should correspond to the specific conditions of each country. A common wish was expressed to continue in future multilateral cooperation, but on the basis of mutual benefit.

The ecological situation and the need of thorough study of the factors which impair people's health was the other set of problems.

The delegations also discussed issues included in the WHO General Assembly agenda: Nutrition of breast-fed and young children, etc.

AWP Central Committee Holds Plenum on Economy

AU1704191690 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Communique issued by the 10th Albanian Workers Party Central Committee Plenum in Tirana on 17 April]

[Text] The 10th AWP [Albanian Workers Party] Central Committee plenum was held on 16-17 April 1990 under the chairmanship of Comrade Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary.

The proceedings of this plenum were devoted to the further democratization of the country's socioeconomic life. The plenum discussed at length the conclusions of the report delivered by Comrade Adil Carcani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers, entitled: On the Refinement of the Economic Mechanism.

At the conclusion of the proceedings, the AWP Central Committee plenum approved the concrete measures proposed to further elaborate the concept of the independent economic accountability management of enterprises, up to the level of the self-financing of the needs for expanded reproduction; the working people's increased individual and collective responsibility for production and financial activities, extending the criteria of their participation in the use of net revenues; the consolidation of the active role of prices and credits in economic life; and the increased authority of the base in the drafting and implementation of plans and development policies.

The plenum concluded that all these measures are intended to raise the efficient use of economic resources and manpower, to adjust controls over labor and consumption, and to open new prospects in raising the well-being of the working people.

The plenum also examined and approved a number of measures to improve the legislation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania on the basis of the report delivered by Comrade Manush Myftiu, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. The plenum approved directives to further deepen this work.

The plenum also heard a report by Comrade Hekuran Isai, AWP Central Committee member and secretary, on the implementation of the instructions issued by the Ninth AWP Central Committee plenum and current economic developments.

The 10th plenum decided that the improvements in the field of legislation and the changes resulting from the refinement of the economic mechanism be presented for examination at the nearest session of the People's Assembly and the Council of Ministers.

The proceedings of the 10th plenum concluded with a speech by Comrade Ramiz Alia, who stressed the special importance of the party's directives to deepening socialist democracy and to further refining production relations. He also dwelt on some foreign policy problems related to current conditions in domestic and international developments.

The 10th AWP Central Committee plenum.

Tirana, 17 April 1990.

People's Assembly To Convene 7 May

AU1704195090 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Decree No. 7367 on convening the seventh session of 11th legislature of the People's Assembly issued in Tirana on 17 April]

[Text] In conformance with Article 77 of the Constitution, the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania decided to convene the People's Assembly in the seventh session of the 11th legislature on Monday, 7 May 1990, at 0800 GMT. This Decree comes into effect immediately.

Tirana, 17 April 1990.

Decree No. 7367.

For the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania: [Signed] Ramiz Alia, chairman; Sihat Tozaj, secretary.

Pro-Lithuanian Rally Held at Soviet Embassy

AU1804061590 Sofia BTA in English 1755 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Sofia, April 17 (BTA)—Today a rally took place in front of the Soviet Embassy in Sofia. It was organized by the Federation of Independent Student Associations in support of Lithuania's independence. This is the first rally of protest to have taken place in front of the embassy in 45 years.

The participants carried posters which read "Arms—The only force of communism", "Strength lies in law not in tanks", "No to the neo-Stalinist course", "USSR a prison of peoples", etc. The speakers were often interrupted by chantings "Independence for Lithuania", "Freedom for Lithuania", "Let Lithuania alone" and "Down with the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party].

Among the speakers were the historian Atanas Orachev, M.A., and Atanas Kirchev, chairman of the Federation of Independent Student Associations. They spoke about the history of Lithuania, her struggle and her right to independence. Most of the speakers called upon Gorbachev—"the man who awoke democracy" to remain a democrat to the end.

The participants in the rally (200-300 people) approved a declaration to the people of Lithuania and a declaration addressed to the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in which they insist on recognizing Lithuania's independence.

Todorov Receives Austrian Delegation

AU1704210290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] National Assembly Chairman Stanko Todorov met the visiting Austrian Parliamentary delegation, headed by Mrs. Marga Hubinek, Austrian National Assembly second president.

Reforms Noted With Austrians

AU1704212090 Sofia BTA in English 1904 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Sofia, April 17 (BTA)—Bulgaria sank and excluded herself from the all-European process, the National Assembly Chairman Stanko Todorov said today in reply to the question of some Austrian MPs [members of parliament] about the causes which made the former Communist leadership of the state to begin the implementation of radical reforms. Speaking to Ms Marga Hubinek, second president of the National Council of Austria, and the officials accompanying her, Mr Todorov underlined that the changes in Bulgaria are aimed at turning her into a democratic multiparty state committed to the rule of law.

Mr Stanko Todorov informed the guests in detail about the changes in the national legislation that provided a basis for the free elections in June. He pointed out that both the ruling Socialist Party and the opposition are for the introduction he country, that there are some nuances in the view s on this matter and that the political forces here are worried by certain actions of the Turkish side taken in respect to Bulgaria.

The chairman of the National Assembly stressed that now the Bulgarian state makes what is necessary to rectify the abuses committed in the recent and a more remote past with regard to the Muslim population and that efforts are made to safeguard the rights of the Bulgarian citizens who return from Turkey.

Attention was paid to the development of Bulgaro-Austrian relations and the role of the parliaments of the two countries in their activation, especially in the field of economy. The Bulgarian side underlined that the new conditions created in the country will contribute to the extension of mutual relations.

Iraqi Envoy: 'We Do Not Threaten Anyone'

AU1704140190

[Editorial Report] Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian on 14 April on page 4 carries a 800-word interview with Fawz Taqir al-Ani, Iraqi ambassador to Bulgaria, by OTECHESTVEN FRONT correspondent Mikhail Neykov in Sofia, date not given, entitled "Iraq Does not Threaten Anybody."

The editorial introduction to the interview reads: "The announcement about Iraq's readiness to use modern weapons against Israel, as a responsive measure in the case of an Israeli aggression, evoked broad commentaries. In this context, a representative of our Editorial Board had a conversation with Ambassador Fawz Taqir al-Ani."

Neykov's first question relates to Saddam Husayn's "warning to Israel to refrain from aggressive acts." In his answer, al-Ani surveys Israel's policy of "actively confronting all Arab countries," including "Israel's open threat to conduct armed strikes against Iraq, and more specifically, against important objects of our industry." In this context, al-Ani says:

"President Saddam Husayn clearly said that we do not threaten anyone. Iraq will never begin an aggression. However, simultaneously we will not allow anyone, whoever he may be, to infringe upon the results of the people's labor. We have the right to self-defense."

Neykov asks next if Iraq is concerned about the possibility of another Israeli strike. Al-Ani says that "our concern is not groundless." He points out that "Israel does not observe any international norms," and stresses that "Israel, in fact, strives to destroy our most modern enterprises."

Neykov's final question related to the changes in Bulgaria and the intention to restore diplomatic relations

with Israel. Al-Ani expresses support of the political changes in Bulgaria. As to restoring relations with Israel, he says:

"I think that the reasons that caused the disruption of your contacts with Israel still exist. However, your government has assessed that the exchange of diplomats will not harm the pan-Arab cause and the struggle of the Palestinians. I do not know, the future will tell."

Government Meets Demands of Workers in Libya

AU1704124690 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 13 Apr 90 p 1

[Text] At 1830 [1530 GMT] on 12 April, Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov called the Bulgarian Confederation of Independent Trade Unions. He informed it that the government has found a way to satisfy the demands of the "Bulgargeomin" workers and specialists in Libya [in respect of payment of wages and working conditions]. The confederation's proposals for resolving the labor conflict, as reported in our newspaper, have been incorporated in the solution. It is a good solution, something that shows that even the most complicated situation can be resolved. In addition, it shows the value of constructive opposition in negotiating with the government.

Paper Urges Restoration of Macedonian Institute

AU1704142790 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 12 Apr 90 p 5

[Editorial: Activity of Macedonian Scientific Institute Must Be Restored"]

[Text] After 10 November, our society began to restore its relations both with the civilized world and its own past. Names and events were brought out of oblivion, party and movements were restored, and we started to talk about things that for decades were wrapped in silence. Our people are restoring the truth about a part of their national history that became subject to foreign claims and aspirations. George Orwell's prophetic words: "Those who control the present control the past. Those who control the past, control the future," are topical as never before, and serve as a warning. Bulgaria cannot relinquish even a small part of its past and will not allow any attempts to infringe upon its future.

Recently Khistofor Tzavela, noted Bulgarian poet and folklorist, writing in our newspaper, proposed restoring the activity of the Macedonian Scientific Institute. Such a proposal is being prepared also by the restored Union of Macedonian Culture-Educational Associations in Bulgaria.

Founded in 1923 by a group of noted Bulgarian scientists, led by Professor Lyubomir Miletich, for almost 44 years the Macedonian Scientific Institute united the efforts and inspiration of a galaxy of talented researches in the fields of history, ethnography, and philology, and simultaneously became the nest of all patriotic Bulgarians who had connected their life and fate with Macedonia's destiny.

In 1947, as a result of Stalinism's policy purging all national elements, the institute was closed and its great and precious archives transferred to Skopje, together with the mortal remains of Gotse Delchev, hero of the Bulgarian national liberation struggle.

An iron curtain descended upon the fate of the Bulgarian population of Macedonia. Deprived of its natural center, the research of the history, language, and culture of Bulgarians in Macedonia was stopped for a long period of time. Thus the closing of the Macedonian Scientific Institute inflicted a heavy blow on our national memory and the Bulgarian patriotic spirit.

DUMA warmly supports the ideas and proposals of all Bulgarian citizens, public movements, and institutes who initiated the efforts to restore the activity of the Macedonian Scientific Institute and its publication MAKEDONIAN PREGLED.

DUMA is convinced that this is our duty to the unfortunate history of the Macedonian Bulgarians!

National Committee for Citizens Abroad

AU1704204390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] The Committee for the Defense of National Interests in Khaskovo organized a new signature collection campaign among the population.

The appeal reads: Let us extend our hands to our brothers and sisters in the Banat and Bessarabia, who were exiled from the motherland in the years of slavery.

The committee proposes that Bulgarians living in those areas who wish to do so, should have the opportunity of returning to Bulgaria.

Lukanov Discusses Foreign Debt

AU1704211390 Sofia BTA in English 2004 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Sofia, April 17 (BTA)—Mr Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria, sharply opposed to the course of increasing the country's foreign debt adopted in the last few years by Todor Zhivkov, the country's former "No. 1". In an interview for the Bulgarian Television aired tonight, Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov said that it was Zhivkov's purpose to stabilize his personal regime at the expense of external factors.

Mr Lukanov pointed out some positive aspects in the development of the country's economy in the mid-1970's and the mid-1980's, when Bulgaria's foreign debt dropped from six milliard to three milliard dollars. The new credits of seven milliard dollars piled up in the last five years mainly as a result of subjective decisions.

Mr Andrey Lukanov spoke about the decision to suspend the payments of the principals of the credits granted to Bulgaria. He pointed out that it is a difficult, but the only possible decision at the moment, having in mind that this year Bulgaria should pay off four milliard dollars, while the possible receipts are expected to be to the tune of two milliard dollars. The creditors' reaction is "understanding" and readiness to seek a joint solution to the problem, the prime minister noted.

The prime minister is fully aware of the grave ecological situation in the country, but he declares himself to be against the closure of enterprises all over the country, because such an action would have a catastrophic effect. In his view the most important thing is making investments for the protection of environment, no matter how expensive it may be. Mr Lukanov considers that the implementation of a five-year program can bring about a rapid improvement in the ecological situation.

There are not objective factors to hinder the settlement of the future problems with unemployement, the chairman of the Council of Ministers underlined. The economic conditions in the country favor the creation of jobs, he added. Social allowances are envisaged for the temporarily unemployed labor force.

The prime minister commented on the events related to Todor Zhivkov's ousting, when the lives of the opponents to the regime were threatened. He pointed out the contribution of President Petur Mladenov and Army General Dobri Dzhurov, minister of defense, about whom he said that he was a guarantor of the constitutional order. The role of the former chairman of the Council of Ministers Georgi Atanasov in these events was highly appreciated and in this connection Mr Andrey Lukanov distanced himself from the recommendation made by the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] Party Morality Commission that he should be expelled from the Bulgarian Socialist Party.

Foreign Currency Transactions Noted

AU1704195290 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 12 Apr 90 p 1

[Professor Milcho Stoimenov article: "Dollar Fever"]

[Text] At the beginning of this month, the Bulgarian National Bank surprised the population by establishing a new rate of exchange for the U.S. dollar and other convertible foreign currencies in leva related to the purchase and sale of foreign exchange by local people (and for sale by foreigners). One dollar purchased from the bank costs as much as 9.69 leva today. Compared with the official rate that is 0.81 leva for one dollar, the leva devaluation is 12-fold, while compared with the current, actual rate of such operations, the devaluation of the national currency is fourfold.

The reasons for the Bulgarian National Bank having recourse to this drastic measure can be explained by the wish to influence the "black" foreign exchange market through encouraging the flow of convertible currency from local and foreign citizens to the bank's money-changing offices, as well as by the wish to restrict the purchase of foreign currency by Bulgarian citizens.

It is, however, evident, that the bank's new foreign exchange policy is expected to encounter numerous difficulties.

In the first place, considering the absence of a normal foreign exchange market, the black market in our country cannot be eliminated, even at the cost of drastically reducing the value of the national currency. Since the citizens' possibilities to purchase foreign currency are restricted (for the time being they are entitled to an annual amount of $30 only), the demand for this currency should naturally be directed toward the "black" foreign exchange market. The reaction of this market, following the official increase of the convertible currency rate in leva, almost skyrocketed—one dollar is now being sold for 14-16 leva. Under such circumstances, the Bulgarian National Bank can hardly rely on an essential reduction of the black-market foreign exchange flow.

In the second place, every excessive devaluation (outside the admissible economic limits) results in an unrestricted export of national values. Under the current foreign exchange rate, a substantial meal can be purchased in one of Sofia's most luxurious restaurants for only $10, and anyone can purchase two refrigerators for $100 in exchange for 1,000 leva (without taking into consideration the customs regulations, of course). Tourists from Western countries certainly will enjoy their cheap visit to Bulgaria, while it is unnecessary to dwell on the question at whose expense this kind of cheap tourism will be enjoyed. Are our bankers asking themselves this question, as a matter of fact?

In the third place, the drastic increase of the foreign exchange rate in leva cannot fail to trigger a chain reaction involving the entire "black-market economy" in our country. Thus, for example the owner of $10,000 (legal, or illegal—this is irrelevant in this particular case) can promptly convert this amount on the "black market" into 140,000-160,000 leva and "put them into operation" by purchasing any kind of commercial, or production enterprise from the state. This is how the "black-market economy" can merge with the official economy, and the black market can miraculously put on the white gloves of innocence by becoming the legitimate owner of a large property. It turns out that black marketeers are expected to be the greatest beneficiaries from the future, partial privatization of state property.

In the fourth place, a direct link exists between the conversion of the dollar in leva and the black-market prices of imported goods. Such goods are expected to increase as a result of the leva devaluation. This cannot fail to affect the total inflation process in the country.

In the fifth place, the Bulgarian currency that has been illegally exported abroad (according to certain estimates it amounts to approximately 1 billion leva) may badly

affect the Bulgarian National Bank. The owners of leva abroad (such as banks, individual citizens, and others) may desperately try to get rid of this money, which would result in an even further devaluation of our national currency.

The "dollar fever" will not subside, as long as people are starving for dollars, as long as we do not start producing goods that are sold in exchange of this currency. Let us, however, refrain from further stirring this fever. This is dangerous. The disruption of money circulation and the devaluation of our national currency might totally undermine the foundations of our economy.

The recent measures adopted by the Bulgarian National Bank cannot be disputed on principle; however, the bank's specific approach in establishing a new exchange rate that acknowledges only the existence of a "black-market" currency in our country can hardly be in addition to this. The Bulgarian National Bank should adopt different priorities in its foreign exchange policy, because the effort of successfully overcoming the grave crisis in our balance of payments urgently requires a stimulation of foreign economic activities on part of the local commodity producers and the import of foreign investments. This is impossible without a devaluation of our currency, of course, nevertheless, devaluation should take place within sensible limits, and should not exert a destructive, but a stimulating effect upon our national economy.

Government Adopts Crisis-Management Measures

AU1704134590 Sofia BTA in English
1211 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Sofia, April 17 (BTA)—The press provides coverage of the measures which the Council of Ministers considered yesterday [16 April] to take the country out of the economic crisis.

Mrs Nora Ananieva, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, told reporters that wages and pensions will become index-linked by the end of this year. The lowest-income brackets will get a 100 per cent compensation. The idea of the government is to introduce six-monthly adjustments for inflation. In the longer range there are plans to increase child benefits and to provide more funds for the writing off of large families' loans. A decree now in preparation will deal with the social problems of the disabled. A team of government experts will soon submit a scheme to facilitate and abolish women's night shifts.

The state reserves the right to control 25-30 per cent of prices in order to maintain the consumer good basket. Some 100 million leva will be allocated to subsidize baby foods alone. Resources will be invested on a priority basis in job creation in agriculture, food processing, the services sector and the production of goods earmarked for the home market and for export. Specific programmes have already been worked out to create jobs where many workers will become redundant. The Government intends to cope with unemployment by providing more jobs and not just benefits. The first draft of a new taxation bill is to be ready by April 20. Under it, interest rates will be raised.

The papers report that at a cabinet meeting yesterday it was announced that the "foreign currency lev" unit of account and the bonus and official exchange rates will be abolished as from this month.

Companies will buy and sell foreign currency at the market dollar rate formed through auctions which will be held on a regular basis. All companies: state, private, joint-stock, one-man and partnerships, will acquire currency on equal terms. They will be required to sell half of their foreign exchange earnings to the bank and will be free to dispose of the rest. Only socially oriented transactions will be exempt from this requirement. A special fund of 100 million dollars is set up for short-term export credits. The state will be buying 80 per cent of the foreign exchange receipts from the tourist industry, 90 per cent of the profition goods imported and sold against currency, and 95 per cent of the earnings from re-export operations.

"We need a system of trade and services which should organically rule out corruption which, regretably, has become the rule in this sphere," Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov told the government meeting yesterday. He pointed out that this sphere needs real and stiff competition and that without a strong and vibrant private sector it will not be able to fulfil the tasks set to it by society.

Socially oriented shifts in housing policy will be considered today at the Ministry of Construction, Architecture and Public Works. The preliminary documents say that Bulgarians occupy an average of 18.6 per cent of per capita living space, that one-sixth of the flats cover less than 30 square meters and more than half of the flats are less than 60 square meters large. The immediate action envisaged by the programme is to relocate to housing construction the manpower made redundant by the closurd of mofeh- lospng enterprises and to rechannel there the building materials and machines from frozen projects. More than 50 types of building materials will appear on the market by the end of the year. Nine new methods of crediting and four new methods of subsidizing are suggested, as well as new regulations for tenant-landlord relations and taxation.

Light Industry Goods Shortage Noted

AU1704211290 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Lyubomir Ganchev, deputy minister of industry and technologies, held a news conference today at which he confirmed the difficult situation of the light industry sector in Bulgaria.

The news conference focused on the problems related to the supply of raw materials purchased with hard currency. This is one of the reasons for the unreliable commodity funds, despite the fact that in the first quarter of 1990 the plan fulfillment exceeded the plan fulfillment figures of the same period in 1989.

Fewer cotton and wool materials, knit underwear goods, household glassware, and household electric appliances were produced during the period under review compared with the same period in 1989.

Numerous goods are still described as being "in short supply." The picture is rather gloomy, although 65 million currency leva were provided for the needs of the light industry sector during the period under review.

According to Lyubomir Ganchev, we should confidently expect that the volume of the goods produced during the forthcoming quarter of 1990 will equal the volume of the same period in 1989. There is no danger that production will be discontinued in some enterprises for shortage of raw materials.

However, the main problem related to the restructuring of enterprises and companies, in accordance with the country's economic situation, and the question of the methods for overcoming the crisis still remain open.

The ministry's leadership sees an appropriate solution in the active and mutually advantageous cooperation with foreign companies. Currently, negotiations are conducted and relations are established with companies that can be described as geographically situated in totally different directions, namely in Western Europe and Taiwan. Some West European countries have expressed the wish to invest financial resources in our country.

We should also rely on local raw material resources for which conditions and guarantees already have been provided on the basis of numerous new government documents.

Union of Financial Control Experts Forms

AU1704112890 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
15 Apr 90 p 2

[Mara Georgieva report: "Union of Financial Control Experts Founded"]

[Text] The delegates to the 14 April constituent conference of the Union of Financial Control Experts [Suyuz Na Finansovo-Kontrolni Deytsi] stressed that the new union is a public, independent, professional-creative, and self-managing organization. All those engaged at present or in the past in the sphere of the theory and practice of financial and tax control can be members of the organization. The union will have the status of an independent juridical entity.

The union will protect the professional, social, and creative rights and interests of its members and will facilitate the optimal functioning of finance-tax and auditing control in our country. The charter that was adopted envisions the establishment of bureaus, offices, and printing facilities for economic and publishing activity and consultation services. The organization will also develop international activity.

The report and the delegates' statements expressed disagreement with interference in the activity of the financial control bodies and the refusal to initiate criminal investigation of persons involved in crimes, despite the existence of sufficient data and evidence.

Kiril Genov was elected chairman of the union Executive Council, and Dimitur Yankov was elected Control Council chairman.

Minister Stoilov Discusses Reforms

AU1804095090 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
12 Apr 90 p 4

[Interview with Professor Stefan Stoilov, minister of economic reform, by DUMA correspondent Dimitrana Aleksandrova; place and date not given: "Critics Do not Offer Better Solution to Crisis"]

[Text] [Aleksandrova] The present cabinet had two months to work on the economic reform and anticrisis program. Which of the elements incorporated in this program would you like to implement by all available means?

[Stoilov] What I would like more than anything else is an accelerated reform that becomes a determining factor in the processes that are taking place in our country, and a movement aimed at removing the remaining or newly created obstacles to its development. Otherwise, it would be impossible to resolve the crisis situation and launch our economy into a new trajectory of structural-technological development and adaptation to the requirements of the market, especially the foreign one. Without this it would be impossible to enter the new European home and effect our integration with the European economic structures. It is on this basis that we will restructure our economic and trade relations with our basic partners in CEMA.

The goal of our policy is to ensure a dynamic change in our economic relations. We must involve all kinds of property and forms of management in economic life. In many sectors, it is necessary to begin immediately the partial privatization of property. Relevant documents, related to trade, services, and tourism have been adopted. I am an optimist and expect that the measures on dynamically developing the cooperatives, initiative, enterprise, and private economic activity will prove effective.

I attribute great importance to the work related to constructing the legal and institutional foundation of the market economy. This activity requires much time. It practically dismantles the old administrative-command

system in the economy and facilitates the construction of market structures. In this context, it will be a catalyst of the processes.

[Aleksandrova] What legal documents is the government preparing at present?

[Stoilov] The government is preparing documents on land, the use of land, competition, the stock market, deals with foreign currency, foreign currency control, privatization of property, auctions, taxes on the population's revenue and property, the banks, foreign investments, and so forth. We have attracted a broad range of experts to this work, and also utilize the legislature of the highly developed countries. Our goal is to create a modern legal system, maximally coordinated with international law.

Simultaneously, we are preparing many documents that will facilitate the solution of certain exceptionally important problems until appropriate laws are adopted. Those documents are related to: the system and mechanism of price control and the struggle against speculation with consumer goods; export and import regulations; the methodology of assessing state property; amending the interest rate of the savings accounts and credits of the population and the companies; a regulation on the procedure of collecting and utilizing the means of "Professional Qualification and Direction;" proposals to reorganize state and shareholding companies; abolishing the monopoly of state companies; and selling state property.

The government's style is to conduct the work related to preparing the laws on the basis of broad consultations with specialists and economic figures. Some of the draft laws—on land and the use of land, taxes, and social security—will be subjected to broad public discussion.

[Aleksandrova] We became used to calling you minister of the reform. What advice would you give to your heir if you do not become a member of the government that will be formed after the elections?

[Stoilov] This a more a delicate than difficult question. I base my activity on the understanding that economic logic is not a party factor, and that the economy must be deideologized. I would say the following to my heir, who most probably will be a member of the same party to which I also belong:

First, economic reform and the transition toward a market economy have no reasonable alternative. We all must remember that this is a reform for the people. We must construct a social market economy. Regardless of the exclamations of some learned men in SVOBODEN NAROD related to the meaning of the "socially oriented market economy" concept, used in the governmental program, the world knows such economies. Western economists, including experts from the FRG, have written many pages about the social market economy. Michel Rocard is 100 percent right in his assessment that "it is difficult to guarantee social justice under the conditions of a market economy." Therefore, active social policy and protection are necessary. It will correct the negative consequences and influences of the market, and will give the economy a higher social orientation on the basis of the increasing efficiency of growth.

Second, I believe that we can and must work for accelerating the reform. On the one hand, the new government will have the support of the people, as expressed in the elections' results. On the other hand, the government of Andrey Lukanov ensured the successful start of the reform, and despite the numerous problems, the reform developed significant speed. We are working in a manner that will ensure the continuity between the present and future development from the viewpoint of constructing the economic, legal, and institutional foundation of a market economy. All this must be utilized for accelerating the reform, however, without allowing the emergence of unjustified tension, despite the significantly greater political confidence that the government will enjoy after the elections.

Third, tactical compromises are inevitable and admissible. They are an expression of taking into consideration the specific and dynamically changing situation, especially under the influence of foreign factors. I would say that such compromises serve the practical economic policy, make it more flexible, and thus, more efficient. However, protecting and implementing the principles and basic contents of the reform related to constructing the social market economy as an adequate economic basis of democratic socialism must be the determining criterion in the sphere of compromises.

The concepts of those who now criticize us for everything add nothing to what we have already announced. The difference is that they are writing and talking about eliminating the obsolete administrative-command structures, while we are actually implementing this. We began this process, and since 8 February we have been implementing it with accelerated speed.

'Death Camps' Commission Releases Report

AU1704141990 Sofia BTA in English 1323 GMT 17 Apr 90

["'Death Camps' Commission Releases Report" -BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, April 17 (BTA)—In the conditions of a fragile democracy immediately after September 9, 1944 one of the basic methods of countering political opponents and adversaries, people thinking in a different way, referred to as class enemies, law and order disturbers was their isolation within the so called labor-educational hostels.

That conclusion was drawn by the special commission investigating the crimes perpetrated by officials at the camps near Lovech, the village of Skravena and others. Representatives of the main political parties, scientists,

journalists, Colonel-General Atanas Semerdzhiev, minister of internal affairs and other interior ministry officials members of the commission familiarized Bulgarian and foreign media men with the results of their work at a news conference held in Sofia today:

"The Stalinist model of public relations, imposed from outside and mechanically adopted", the restriction of democratic mechanisms and political pluralism, the development and assertion of the totalitarian system are the basic reasons for the establishment of the Lovech and Skravena camps, investigated by the commission so far and of similar "labor-educational hostels" at Belene and other places.

Every ninth Lovech and Skravena inmate died there. This is indicated by the irrefutable evidence and documents of inmates who managed to survive. 1,235 people, 147 of whom died passed through the camps between 1959 and 1962. Their death certificates read "heart failure" and other illnesses as the cause of death.

According to the commission, the main reasons for the inmates' death were the gross violations of the order, the regular beatings, mental tortures, etc.

The report quotes numerous facts of the exhausting work, of beatings and brutalities on inmates, perpetrated by camp officers and criminals-sadists, appointed as "team chiefs."

The report points to the responsibility of the then Minister of the Interior Georgi Tsankov and First Deputy Minister Mircho Spasov, of Chief Prosecutor Mincho Minchev, of the members of the collegium of the Interior Ministry, of camp officers for the atrocities in them. The commission insists on legal actions against them. This is legal according to the recently adopted law on extending the term of legal prescription for such crimes.

The commission which is an independent public institution has submitted all data on the camps to the Military Prosecution investigating the crimes perpetrated in the camps.

The then Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and the state leadership should undoubtedly shoulder the moral and political blame as they have taken the decision on the sending to labor camps of "criminal and socially dangerous persons with the view to their re-education", but left the organization and fulfillment of the acts uncontrolled for three years, the report reads. The report adds, that after the closing down of the camps on a Politburo decision of April 5, 1962, no legal procedures were started against the culprits in spite of registered crimes.

The commission members attending the news conference expressed contradictory views in response to a question of the existence or lack of documents on the camps.

The commission will continue its work with inquiries into the camp at Belene and other camps.

Minister Semerdzhiev declared the readiness of his ministry to guarantee the safety of the witnesses urging them to keep on helping the commission.

Mladenov, Lukanov Declaration

AU1704162090 Sofia BTA in English 1444 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Sofia, April 17 (BTA)—Today, when Bulgaria has unswervingly embarked on the road to democracy, to the creation of a humane and civilized law-abiding state, we are making a profound and unbiased reassessment of the country's past. This past is regrettably full of acute and dramatic clashes, of fierce internal political struggles. Now, more clearly than ever we realize how often in our political history those struggles have pushed us to the fatal way of disunity, hatred, lawlessness and violance. And at the same time more clearly than ever from the height of the current ideas of what our country should be like, we understand how unpromising and dangerous for the country and for all Bulgarians this road is, reads a declaration of the president and the prime minister released here.

If we want to avoid for good the tragic clashes among us, the firing squads and the gallows, the prisons and concentration camps, the violations of basic human rights and freedoms, we should prove strong enough for a real and sincere national reconciliation. We have suffered sufficiently from confrontation. Being aware of the pain and sufferings our 20th century, history abounds in, we should leave behind our drive for punishment and domination over the others, not allowing the spiral of action and counteraction to disturb again the civic and social peace in this country, Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Andrey Lukanov appeal in their declaration.

This is a decisive premise for national concord and unity of action in the name of Bulgaria, of its calm, advancement and national security. We should all rally around that goal, the declaration reads.

Lukanov, Mladenov Tribute

AU1704210290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Excerpt] Never again violence, never again unlawful acts, let us pay tribute to the victims of totalitarianism!—with these words President Petur Mladenov inaugurated a ceremony today that was specially dedicated to the victims of the concentration camp near Lovech.

President Petur Mladenov and Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov laid flowers, place a plaque, and bowed their heads in silence in a short and moving ceremony.

The camp near Lovech is a painful wound in our country, but it is a shared sorrow that should and must

make us more wise. This was also the essential thought expressed in the declaration issued by the president of the republic and the Council of Ministers chairman on the occasion. [passage omitted]

Mladenov Meets Alternative Party Leader

AU1704102690 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 14 Apr 90 p 2

[Text] On 13 April, President Petur Mladenov consulted with Docent Nikolay Vasilev, chairman of the Alternative Socialist Party Political Council. During the talks, the important role of the presidential institution as a guarantor of the peaceful transition to democracy and the creation of a normal atmosphere for conducting free elections was pointed out. Issues related to the forthcoming election campaign and the role of the Central Election Commission also were discussed. In this context, the president stressed his readiness and determination to create all necessary prerequisites for the free expression of the will of every Bulgarian citizen.

ASO Makes Case for De-Leninization

AU1704185090

[Editorial Report] Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian on 12 April 1990 carries on page 3 a 1,000-word interview with Ivan Kalchev, editor in chief of the daily DEN, newspaper of the Alternative Socialist Association (ASO), entitled: "Whose Trump Card Is ASO?" by Valentina Ganeva. The place and time of the interview are not given. The interview focuses on ideological and tactical differences between the ASO and the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) and on the ASO's relations with the opposition forces.

Ivan Kalchev states that his party emphasizes the word "alternative," rather than "socialist" and explains why his party preferred to remain a "faction" even after the Communist Party changed its name to Socialist Party. He claims that as long as the "Bolsheviks" remain in the BSP and are "incapable of realizing the devastating effect of Bolshevism," they have no place in a Socialist Party and should establish "their own, Leninist party." Kalchev expresses his acceptance of the "genuine socialist ideals" represented by the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party and its leader, Petur Dertliev, but on the other hand, describes it as "more conservative than the BSP," because it does not admit factions.

Dwelling on ASO's relations with the Union of Democratic Forces, [UDF] Kalchev points out that despite "our very close views on the struggle against totalitarianism and on the requirement of distancing from this system," ASO does not agree with the UDF on the point of "proportional elections" because it does not accept the demand that every party should have a seat in parliament, adding that "the election campaign should not be a struggle between parties and their leaders, but a competition between personalities," and that "in a civilized country" parties should not focus on their own success, but respect the people's vote and accept "being sent into opposition," if this should be the people's will.

Dealing with the differences between the BSP and the ASO, Kalchev repeats that "we are much closer to the classical social democracy, as regards our mentality, our spirit, our theoretical concepts, and views" and we do not "consider unity as a fetish."

He insists that the BSP, in order to be accepted, should "totally renounce Leninism" because the "Leninization of the Bulgarian Communist Party was the source of the party's failures, in the long run." Kalchev further concludes: "As painful as it may seem to numerous BSP members, the problem should be once for all resolved—de-Stalinization can only be authentic if it ends in de-Leninization."

BSP 'Reformist Forces' Reach Pact on Unity

AU1704120090 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 13 Apr 90 p 1

[Text] An agreement has been reached on unity in the activity of all leftist reformist forces within the Bulgarian Socialist Party during the election campaign and on founding a leftist center with the goal of radically renewing the party.

The unity of action will be implemented while preserving the "identity" of each of the structures that form the united leftist center. The following are the founders of the center: the Operational Council of the Alternative Socialist Association, and the Coordination Councils of the Bulgarian Road to Europe, the Movement for Democratic Socialism, and the Democratic Forum Independent Association. The Coordination Council of the Club of Radical Delegates will coordinate the new center's unity of action.

An expanded Coordination Council of the Club of Radical Delegates has been elected. It will act temporarily until the final forming of the new structure within the party.

BSDP Chairman Outlines Positions

AU1804084290 East Berlin BERLINER ALLGEMEINE in German 11 Apr 90 p 4

[Report on "exclusive" interview with Petur Dertliev, chairman of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party Executive Committee, by Ana Vasileva of the SOFIA PRESS NEWS AGENCY; place and date not given: "Freedom Means Living Freely; Freedom Is Where Our Fellow Man Is Free"]

[Text] In 1948, the activities of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party [BSDP] were ceased forcibly. Its leaders were subjected to reprisals. On 26 November 1989, the BSDP officially announced to the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria that it

started its activities again. It had maintained its membership in the Socialist International. In an exclusive interview for BERLINER ALLGEMEINE, Ana Vasileva, journalist of the SOFIA PRESS NEWS AGENCY, discussed topical questions of the BSDP's work with Petur Dertliev, the party's Executive Committee chairman.

[Vasileva] Mr. Dertliev, what are the ideological pillars of the Bulgarian social democracy?

[Dertliev] The basic principles of social democracy in the world are freedom, solidarity, and justice. We find freedom there where our fellow man is free. Our motto is: Free work for free people in a free country. We are for political pluralism and consider ourselves an opposition party. The opposition is developing the program for a future government. It is the guarantee that the government does not decline in moral terms. Identical thinking is devastating; unity of action impedes action itself.

Freedom means freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of association, and the freedom to live freely, without fear. Justice means a more just distribution of goods in society. Solidarity—this is the agreement in which we proceed on the path we have chosen.

We are for a mixed economy, for market economy, for private initiative, which ensures social success. Unfortunately, such an excellent principle as the cooperative principle was turned into an instrument of coercion for the peasants in Bulgaria. The elimination of the existing economic structures will be a difficult process. The problem is not whether we want to be an industrial state but how and at what cost we are trying to achieve this. The current economic structures were built up with coercive measures of the old apparatus. However, it is necessary to abolish coercion in all its forms. In some branches, the state economy is an indispensable precondition, for instance, in the field of raw material supply, communications, transportation—of course, it must be guided in a democratic way.

In my view, one of the biggest mistakes of the system, which existed until recently, was the confrontation of the classes: Workers were put in confrontation with the intelligentsia. During the time of the scientific-technological revolution, which, after all, is the result of intellectual work, the members of the intelligentsia were considered second-class citizens. We are for the power and the right of those who have skills and knowledge.

[Vasileva] Which guarantees do you give that your party will not evade the goals set in the platform?

[Dertliev] We consistently follow the path of our party toward democracy and against any kind of dictatorship and violence. Nevertheless, there was no lack of disqualifying statements aimed against us. We were called social reformists, social patriots, etc. Therefore, we are a bit reserved toward the Bulgarian Communist Party (now Bulgarian Socialist Party—the editors), when they say that they are now making the transition from dictatorship to democracy.

[Vasileva] What is your position on the upcoming elections?

[Dertliev] We will try to remain in the Union of Democratic Forces and to maintain this union. The backbone of the union is formed by the Social Democrats and by the "Nikola Petkov" Bulgarian Agrarian National Union. At the moment, it would be illogical to separate the parties from the union.

[Vasileva] What is your opinion on the duration of one mandate?

[Dertliev] I see this question in connection with the still existing insecurity of democracy. For us it is clear that no person should be in power for more than two legislative periods. The party mandate is to be seen differently. Where there are democratic traditions, there is no need for a limitation in terms of time. One does not ask this question of Francois Mitterrand or Willy Brandt, who have been at the head of their parties for decades.

The mandate in the economy has left disastrous consequences. There the person who is able to do this must be at the head. The period does not play any role there.

[Vasileva] Which relations do you have with the European social democracy, with the Socialist International, since some time ago you were a guest at the meeting of the social democratic parties from the EC countries in West Berlin?

[Dertliev] Social democracy assumes a leading place in Europe. In some countries it is in power, in others it is in the opposition. However, its influence is felt everywhere. For me social democracy is the path to the common European home.

The event that we are talking about was of utmost importance. We established good contacts. The presence of the East European countries was something new. The opinions on the problems of this region concurred. There was the general desire to support the processes that are developing there so that these countries can find the path to freedom and democracy. This was stressed with particular emphasis by Mrs. Gro Harlem Brundtland, the former prime minister of Norway, who said: "The freedom of the East also is our freedom; if the East does not become free, we will not be free, either."

Dzhurov Answers Soldiers' Mothers' Complaints

AU1804102490 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 17 Apr 90 pp 1, 3

[Reply by Army General Dobri Dzhurov to the 10 April complaint of 42 soldiers' mothers: "Violence Will Have Consequences"]

[Text] In connection with the report: "The Truth About the Guards" published in OTECHESTVEN FRONT's Issue No. 13,407 on 10 April 1990, and the request submitted by 42 soldiers' mothers from Stara Zagora in connection with cases of improper behavior toward young soldiers from the guards' troop, I would like to inform you that the guards' troop is not part of the Bulgarian People's Army staff and the question of investigating the relevant cases is within the responsibility of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

As was announced by the spokesman of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in a recent Bulgarian Television program, an investigation of the aforementioned case is currently under way and there should be no doubt that the individuals who are responsible for the mistreatment of young guardsmen will be punished.

I would like to point out, at the same time, that the Ministry of National Defense leadership fully shares the mothers' concern. Unfortunately, individual cases of inappropriate behavior toward young soldiers may occur even in the Army. Such acts are by no means accidental, yet they cannot be solely attributed to the special circumstances of Army life. They stem from fundamental social causes and are promoted by shortcomings in social environment and, above all, by incorrect upbringing within the family, in school, within the labor collective, and in the Army. Such shortcomings are phenomena of a diseased society. For precisely this reason a successful struggle against such disgraceful acts requires the combined effort of our entire society. Naturally, the Army should contribute its share to this struggle.

The Ministry of National Defense leadership, the Army's commanders and educational bodies devote their efforts and activities to the encouragement of public response and intolerance toward all exponents of relations and behavior that are incompatible with the Army statute and its regulations. Uncompromising measures are taken against all military personnel, regardless of rank, who, in neglecting the requirements of the Army statute and its regulations, are abusing their rights in applying disciplinary measures and in dispensing justice. Energetic, preventive measures are applied in order to prevent acts of violence against subordinates.

Considering that numerous cases are never reported to the Ministry of National Defense, for various reasons, we appeal to soldiers' parents and to all our public for timely information so that urgent measures may be adopted to prevent all actions of this kind. I can assure you that no case whatsoever involving violence or disregard for the soldier's personal dignity will remain without consequences and that those responsible for such acts will be most severely punished in accordance with People's Army regulations and the laws of the country.

Editorial note: OTECHESTVEN FRONT, in turn, intends to report all such cases and to cooperate actively with the People's Army personnel through the Fatherland Union's organizations.

USSR Embassy Demonstrators Support Lithuanians

LD1704202190 Prague CTK in English 1909 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 17 (CTK)—Several dozen demonstrators today expressed their discontent with the steps taken by the Soviet Government against Lithuania with a 50-minute blockade of the Soviet Embassy in Prague, demanding freedom and independence for this republic.

The organizers of the action, the students' group "Alternative", the Czech-Latvian Club and the movement for Civic Freedom, acquainted the participants in the demonstration with a protest petition condemning Moscow's relation to this Baltic republic.

Dienstbier on Policy, USSR Mediation Offer

LD1704223190 Prague CTK in English 1558 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 17 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier stressed at a press conference here today that Czechoslovakia's external relations must be active, which is given by the geographical position of the country.

He pointed out that first of all, European integration must be strengthened, a common legal and economic scope must be created and the Helsinki process must be institutionalized.

Asked about the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Vatican, the foreign minister said that Czechoslovakia renews them at the level of embassies. It is up to the Vatican whether a nuncio or a pronuncio will be sent to Prague. In Czechoslovakia, it will then be discussed whether this envoy is or is not to be automatically a doyen of the diplomatic corps. This affair will require an accord of all political forces and will be definitively solved after the free elections in June.

Replying to the question whether the Soviet Union has already reacted to the Czechoslovak offer to mediate talks between the Soviet Union and Lithuania, Jiri Dienstbier said that the Czechoslovak Government only offered to mediate a contact if the two sides are interested. The Soviet Union has not yet reacted.

The minister said that visa-free relations with the Federal Republic of Germany are now under debate, as well as the common visa policy of several countries also in the framework of the European communities.

Government Discusses Foreign Economic Policy

LD1704204290 Prague CTK in English 1913 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 17 (CTK)—Discussion about the concept of Czechoslovakia's foreign policy and drawing up a concept of state policy in the sphere of external economic relations formed a substantial part of today's meeting of the Czechoslovak Federal Government.

The Government also adopted a bill on taxes on incomes of the population, which complies with public expectations of developing private activities mainly in the sphere of services. The bill reduces the tax which so far rather discouraged people from private enterprise.

The government also approved the annual balance of the State Bank of Czechoslovakia, according to which some positive results have been scored, for instance, the insolvency of of enterprises decreased. However, credits granted to enterprises continue to exceed their deposits. Stocks continued to grow and this, together with the deep imbalance in the economy, reflected in demand prevailing over supply, did naturally fail to act in favour of monetary balance.

Slovaks Call for Independence

LD1704203190 Prague CTK in English 1920 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Bratislava April 17 (CTK)—About 3,000 people participated here today in a rally organized by the Slovak National Party whose representatives criticized again Slovak television and radio for not providing objective information on the efforts and activities of the party.

The participants voiced support for the Slovak National Party and some of them even for the idea of Slovakia's independence.

Historian Anton Hrnko who will run for the June elections for this party explained the attitude of the Slovak National Party towards the nationality minorities. He defended the territorial integrity of the Slovak Republic and spoke against Prague's interference in Slovakia's problems.

Sacher on Start of 1968 Invasion Investigation

LD1704202690 Prague CTK in English 1918 GMT 17 Apr 90

["Investigation of Persons who Caused 1968 Invasion Starts"—CTK headline]

[Text] Prague April 17 (CTK)—The investigation of persons connected with inviting Warsaw Treaty troops into Czechoslovakia in 1968 started today. Summoned as witnesses were Milos Jakes, Alois Indra, Karel Hoffmann and Vasil Bilak, all former Czechoslovak Communist Party leading officials. Czechoslovak Minister of the Interior Richard Sacher said at a press conference here today.

The aim of these proceedings is to punish the persons who violated the law on the protection of peace. The crimes against this law do not fall under the 20-year period of limitation.

The purpose of investigations of persons connected with inviting Warsaw Treaty troops into Czechoslovakia in

1968 is to clarify the activities of so far unidentified persons, that caused the invasion, senior prosecutor from the Federal Prosecutor's Office Dr Vladimir Nechanicky told the press conference.

Federal prosecutor-General Tibor Boehm asked the prosecutors- general of Warsaw Treaty countries which took part in the invasion for help and for handing over documents concerning the 1968 invasion.

Dr Nechanicky admitted that none of these countries have complied with Czechoslovakia's request so far and therefore more resolute activity will have to be developed to obtain the necessary documents.

Asked what the sentence for a person charged with the offence against peace could be, Dr Nechanicky said it could be a three to 15-year prison term.

Minister Richard Sacher answered some questions concerning the post of interior minister in the future, stating that it is rather a matter for the parliament and not for himself to decide. He told newsmen he saw no reason why he should resign, and denied speculations that Petr Uhl, the CTK director general, had been proposed to the post.

Havel, Other Officials Discuss Internal Security

LD1704194490 Prague CTK in English 1810 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 17 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel and Premier Marian Calfa met here today for talks on the state's internal security and tasks of the Federal Ministry of the Interior with Civic Forum representatives and Interior Minister Richard Sacher.

Some concrete steps towards improvement of the present state at the Federal Ministry of the Interior concerning the activities of former state security members were agreed.

The five-hour debate was also attended by some federal and Czech ministers, Federal Assembly deputies and advisers of the president.

Civic Forum, PAV Letter to Havel on Government

LD1704221290 Prague CTK in English 2040 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 17 (CTK)—The fact that the most compromised heads of central bodies are remaining in their posts seriously slows down and complicates the progress of reforms in the centre of state administration, which is especially dangerous due to the extent and importance of these institutions.

This point was stressed by the Coordinating Committee of the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence of the central bodies in a letter addressed to the Czechoslovak president, the chairman of the parliament, the federal prime minister and the Czech and Slovak premiers which was offered to CTK today.

They stressed that their demands for the exchange of at least the most compromised directors and deputy directors set forth at the end of 1989 on the basis of mainly moral and political views acquire also a professional basis at present.

It is ever more evident that these people are not willing and able to give up their former views and links and with their professional activity complicate the functioning of offices.

A suspiction is arising that this retarding activity of various leading personalities is coordinated and supported by formally abolished but in fact evidently existing originally communist centres.

The self-confidence of directors and deputy directors in their posts is increasing as they are often assured that they are not replaceable due to their experience.

The Czecho-Slovak Federative Republic has enough qualified people capable of overcoming all problems resulting from assuming new posts in a short period of time and they are not burdened with the past and old habits, the letter stressed.

Further on Investigation Into 17 Nov Events

LD1704140190 Prague CTK in English 1202 GMT 17 Apr 90

[By Zuzana Aguilarova]

[Text] Prague April 17 (CTK)—Proofs begin to be gathered which confirm the persisting suspicion that the police operation in downtown Prague on November 17, 1989, had been masterminded by secret components of the state security corps.

In the light of the exposure of state security's share in the brutal move against a calm student demonstration which resulted in the fall of the communist regime in Czechoslovakia, and in the light of the existence of a shadow command center, practically a state security component, the responsibility of the direct command of the operation will probably be newly assessed. The question arises whether this second, covert commanding center was not first in fact.

In an interview he granted to CTK in March, former state security member Major Petr Zak placed credit in the theory that the Czechoslovak Communist Party leadership was not united and split into four groups each having different attitudes to the situation in the country. One of them allegedly wanted to compromise the then party general secretary Milos Jakes in order to remove and replace him, and therefore, it engineered a hard anti-student operation in Prague.

Developments in Czechoslovakia were objectively heading towards a revolution situation, and an impulse to start off radical changes was sought at all official and unofficial levels. According to Major Petr Zak, all chief organizers of the mass demonstrations last August (on

the occasion of the 21 years which had passed from the occupation of Czechoslovakia by Soviet troops to crush the 1968 process of revival in the country) and last October (on the occasion of the 71st anniversary of the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic) were preventively interned in keeping with Czechoslovak Communist Party instructions. Strangely, this was not the case—for thus far unknown reasons—in connection with 17 November 1989 (International Student Day marked to pay tribute to the Czechoslovak students who fell victim to Nazi occupiers' terror in 1939).

According to available information, all police operations were consulted by former interior minister Frantisek Kincl with former Czechoslovak Communist Party general secetary Milos Jakes.

The task of state security members was to document the slogans and activity of the November 17, 1989, marchers. The whole commemorative demonstration was videorecorded and all materials were handed over to the Czechoslovak Interior Ministry, in spite of the ban issued. Part of the written and other documents of state security was destroyed in December 1989 and January 1990.

In this connection, former first deputy interior minister General Alojz Lorenc was detained, being responsible for the destruction of the documentary material. The detention is probably motivated by the new line of investigation which at last aims at certain personalities in high posts.

In addition to Lieutenant Ludvik Zifcak of state security (he appeared last year as a student of the mining college in Ostrava, North Moravia, Milan Ruzicka, played the role of an agent provocateur at the November 17, 1989, demonstration, and then disappeared. Two months later he re-appeared under his real name), and General Lorenc, another three state security commanders, who had held important posts in the federal interior ministry, have been taken into custody. Seven out of the 30 members of the state security corps prosecuted are members of the former state security corps.

One of the personalities held in custody already since last December is former Czechoslovak Communist Party city committee in Prague leading secretary Miroslav Stepan whose share not only in the November 1989 massacre, but also in the suppression of the demonstrations in Prague in January 1989 (on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the self-immolation of student Jan Palach in protest against the invasion of Czechoslovakia by five Warsaw Treaty member countries' troops in August 1968) and in October 1989 is assessed as a criminal offense.

Miroslav Stepan was not satisfied with the police command by Major General Bohumil Carda from the national security corps and therefore took over command of the police operations. He bears also political responsibility.

Czech Prosecutor General Pavel Rychetsky said on television recently that the circumstances of the November operation still remain largely unclear. On November 17, 1989, the situation strongly radicalized and developed at an unexpected pace. It is no secret that Czechoslovakia was a perfectly organized police state in which the communist party was tightly linked with state power. In view of the serious character of further investigation of the November 17, 1989, events a special coordinating team has been formed which consists of representatives of the military and civil prosecutor's offices and of the Czechoslovak Interior Ministry.

Prague Policemen Receive Suspended Sentences

LD1704183990 Prague CTK in English 1604 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 17 (CTK)—A Prague military court today passed suspended prison sentences on two riot police sergeants for their action against students during a big demonstration in Prague on November 17, 1989.

The brutal police action on that day, in which nearly 600 people were injured, triggered a mass wave of resistance against the communist regime in Czechoslovakia and led to its fall. The two sergeants, charged with abuse of powers of a public official, received suspended prison sentences of six and ten months.

More on Defense Minister 11 Apr News Conference

AU1704161390

[Editorial Report] Czech and Slovak newspapers on 12 and 13 April publish 300- to 800-word CTK or correspondents' reports on a news conference with Lieutenant General Miroslav Vacek, Czechoslovak minister of national defense, held in Prague on 11 April.

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 12 April on page 2 carries a 500- word Stefan Hrcka report on the news conference, which includes the following passage on the current process of rehabilitation of soldiers who had been "unjustly persecuted" in the past: "A central rehabilitation commission took up its work in April, and 20 rehabilitation commissions at various levels started their work last week. Some 400 applications have been processed thus far. It is expected that some 7,000 applications will be dealt with in the course of the next two years. A total of 56 former soldiers serve in the Army again. It is expected that, altogether, about 900 former soldiers will be reactivated. Within the framework of the rehabilitation process, 88 citizens have been given back the honors of which they had been stripped. As an expression of partial rehabilitation, the minister has awarded another 4,674 soldiers with the highest military honors, and 690 reserve or retired soldiers have received extraordinary promotions. Minister Vacek has also submitted to the government and the president proposals for the rehabilitation of six generals persecuted in the fifties."

Bratislava SMENA in Slovak on 12 April on page 2 carries a 300- word Katarina Fornerova report, which quotes Minister Vacek as having said that the Czechoslovak Army will discontinue its "assistance to the national economy" (such as its part in the construction of the Temelin and Mochovce nuclear power stations) by 1 November this year. Its temporary assistance to industrial enterprises suffering from labor shortages after the presidential amnesty (such as the Skoda car factory in Mlada Boleslav) is said to have ended already.

Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 12 April on page 2 carries a 600- word Josef Tucek article entitled "What Is No Longer Super Secret." Tucek quotes, among other things, Vacek's reply to a question about the fate of the Army's former "political apparatus." According to the MLADA FRONTA report, Vacek replied that only 1,894 of the Army's 3,100 "political workers" have been allowed to keep their uniforms. These Army members, whose average age is said to be less than 35, have been transferred to the Army's newly set up "sector of education and culture."

On 13 April, on page 2, Bratislava SMENA publishes a more detailed, 800-word Katarina Fornerova report on Vacek's news conference. According to the SMENA report, Vacek said that two- thirds of the staff of the Army's former Main Political Administration have left the Czechoslovak Army. The SMENA report also quotes Vacek's comments on the efforts of some professional soldiers, including military physicians, to leave the Army because they see better chances for themselves in civilian life or in private business. Vacek is quoted as having said that the Army "has adopted the maxim not to keep soldiers who do not want to serve in it" but that it will demand reimbursement for the cost of their training. In the case of shortage of physicians, the army will also ask the government that it permit "long-term exercises" of civilian physicians.

Trade Minister Outlines Arms Sales Plans

LD1704194190 Prague CTK in English 1840 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Prague april 17 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Minister of foreign trade Andrej Barcak acquainted journalists here today with major tasks concerning Czechoslovakia's ties with foreign countries and spoke primarily about the European communities.

Asked about the future of the country's arms trade, he said that the arms exports played a great role in Czechoslovakia's economic revenues not only in the past 20 or 40 but at least 70 years. The arms trade will not be considered a fundamental economic factor but this humane decision cannot be taken immediately, he stated, adding that nor economic and technological progress connected with the production of arms can be disregarded. Certain traditional production of light weapons must be counted on, Minister Barcak said.

He stressed that such countries as Sweden, Switzerland or France with socially based economies have been trading with military equipment without problems. In this context, Czechoslovak foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier said that Czechoslovakia has already limited exports of tanks and armoured vehicles and that it is also necessary to consider to a greater extent to whom weapons are sold.

Minister Barcak also stated that Czechoslovakia and China are interested in economic cooperation. Therefore in the near future bilateral talks at ministerial level can be expected, he said.

Communist Press Responds to 11 Apr General Strike

AU1704133490

[Editorial Report] All Czech and Slovak dailies on 12 April publish extensive reports on the observance of the 10-minute general strike held throughout the country on 11 April in support of the demand that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia hand over its "unlawfully acquired" property to the state. The communist papers, Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak, both publish reactions to the general strike.

According to a 1,000-word "zn, c"-signed report carried by Prague ZIMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 12 April on pages 1 and 2, "1,780 plants from the whole of Czechoslovakia" joined the strike. The press reports reveal that the striking organizations included the Czech and Slovak governments (which interrupted for 10 minutes their joint session), the Office of the Czechoslovak President, the Prague subway, the Czechoslovak Airlines, large industrial plants, such as Skoda Plzen, Vitkovice, or the East Slovak Iron Works, as well as the North Bohemian and Ostrava-Karvina coal mines.

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 12 April on page 1 carries a 450- word Frantisek Cinger commentary entitled "Let Us Proceed According to Law." Cinger states that "it is beyond all doubt that the Communist Party must return all unlawfully acquired property to the state without delay. However, if justice is to prevail, then it should apply to all without exception—that is, also to the other parties, movements, and organizations in this country." The author expresses "understanding for the conviction of many of our fellow citizens that the Communist Party should start 'from scratch' under the new conditions." He adds, however, that the party's property issues must be dealt with "in accordance with the law." In this context he declares that the Communist Party will respect the decisions of the parliamentary commission that is to examine the property of political parties and public organizations, including the Communist Party's property.

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 12 April on page 2 carries a 1,200-word statement by Peter Weiss, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of

Slovakia Central Committee, entitled "A Lesson in Democracy?" Like the RUDE PRAVO commentator, Weiss agrees that the Communist Party should return all unlawfully acquired property, the decision on which ought to be made by a special parliamentary commission. Property that had been paid for by party members, on the other hand, must be defended.

Weiss goes on to respond to individual arguments put forward by the organizers of the 11 April general strike. He says: "Those who demand the dispossession of the Communist Party use as an argument the methods used by the party after 1948. I am asking: Is this meant as revenge? If this is the case, then our new society, which clearly espouses democracy, would be resorting to methods used by the Communist Party against its political rivals after February 1948. At that time the Communist Party was acting under pressure from Stalin. The new party leadership has dissociated itself clearly from these methods, and it was precisely in the past few days that we heard [from the new party leadership] many critical words about the expropriations of that time. Is the same method to be used today, with Stalin no longer alive?

"If this is the case, it definitely is an instructive lesson in democracy. Only twice in the history of Czechoslovakia has something similar happened—in 1918 and 1948. As the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is a legal subject enshrined in the law on political parties, this could even prove to be instructive for foreigners who are interested in doing business here. What will those who want to invest in Czechoslovakia think about such an approach to property? Can it not create the impression that a changed political situation or the call for a general strike suffice in our country to dispossess anyone?"

Weiss wonders why the Communist Party should have to prove how it obtained its property: "What happened to the presumption of innocence, the foundation of any state based on the rule of law? Why should the Communist Party prove how it acquired its property and not the other way around? Why does the state not prove which property had been acquired unlawfully and why does it not file the appropriate charges?" As Weiss points out, the Communist Party does not object to the launching of criminal proceedings against the former party leadership if it were guilty of criminal offenses.

Weiss also responds to the other arguments of the strike's organizers. Referring to their argument about the party's "historical responsibility," Weiss says that 75 percent of current members joined the party after 1972 and cannot therefore be blamed for what happened in the forties and fifties. Referring to their demand for an "equal starting position" of all political parties before the elections, he says that, with the exception of the Communist Party, no other political party has declared as yet what financial means it has at its disposal and what their source is. Weiss also expresses the suspicion that some of these parties receive funds from abroad, which is "unacceptable everywhere in the world in the preelection period."

Weiss also objects to the fact that the Communist Party is the only target of the "campaign" concerning the property of political parties. As he stresses, the state subsidy to the Communist Party amounted to approximately 40 korunas per member and year and represented only 6.5 percent of the party's budget. The other parties operating prior to 17 November, such as the Freedom Party or the Democratic Party, on the other hand, received subsidies amounting to several hundred korunas for each member and the share of their property coming from the state budget was much larger.

In conclusion, Weiss suggests that the discussion of the property of political parties be suspended until the People's Control Committee and the parliamentary commission present the results of their inquiries.

Prosecutor on CPCZ Activities After 1 May

LD1704211490 Prague CTK in English 2008 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 17 (CTK)—The political activities of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] in Prague will be from May 1, 1990 considered from the point view of a possible offence of supporting and propagating fascism and similar movements, said a letter by Prague City prosecutor Dr Tomas Sokol to the Communist Party Central Committee. Its text was made available to CTK today.

What will have to be considered is whether the Communist Party committed acts constituting the offence under paragraph 260 of the Penal Code, prosecuting those who support or propagate fascism or any similar movement aimed at suppressing the rights and freedoms of the working people or advocating nationality, racial or religious hatred. In connection with the fascist movement, the provision regards as a typical expression of "destruction of all democratic rights" and that "...the main political method is terror" and "social demagogy". What will have to be considered, therefore, will be the extent to which these factors were reflected in the ideology of the Communist Party or in its actual activities in the past, the letter said, and added that in view of the fact that Communist Party ideology and its concrete application was practically the same all over "Eastern Europe", this context will be taken into consideration.

The prosecutor demanded that all Communist Party members be informed of his letter and told that there is no reason for prosecuting any one just for his membership of the party in view of the strongly demagogic ideology and the ensuing lack of the subjective aspect of the offence.

Trade Unions Dissatisfied with Enterprise Law

LD1704144990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1330 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] The general council of the Czehcoslovak Confederation of Trade Unions has expressed its dissatisfaction

with the fact that the federal government is submitting to the Federal Assembly the draft law on state enterprises without first discussing it with the trade unions. At the same time, a principle change in the preceding draft, which was submitted for consultation with the trade unions, is proposed.

The general council's statement expressed disagreement with omitting a self-management type of state enterprise from the draft. Thus, the apparatus of state bodies are in principle given the right to dispose of national property, and the participation of employees in decisionmaking on economic activity of the enterprises is restricted. The general council of the Czechoslovak Confederation of Trade Unions asks the Federal Assembly not to adopt the draft law on state enterprises in the wording submitted and to return it to the government for finalization. It demands that the government respect the trade unions' right to implement their suggestions.

Dubcek Welcomes 'Warming' Relations With Austria

LD1404123590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 14 apr 90

[Text] Alekander Dubcek, chairman of the Czechoslovak parliament, has welcomed the warming of relations between Czechoslovakia and Austria and spoke in favor of all around intensification of bilateral cooperation. In his interviews for the Austrian papers NEUE KRONEN ZEITUNG and DER STANDARD he also expressed the conviction that all nationality problems will be solved in Czechoslovakia. When talking about the new state name, he stressed that what is involved is the pivotal principle of equality of the two peoples. He also added that a compromise is being sought but that extremists are stubborn. Alexander Dubcek also noted that chauvinistic views do not prevail only in Slovakia, but also in the Czech lands. Both peoples, however, in his view, must and want to live together in one state.

Dubcek Pays Official Visit to Austria 17 Apr

LD1704102890 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 0900 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Federal Assembly Chairman Alexandr Dubcek arrived in Vienna today [17 April] for a one-day official visit. He was welcomed by Rudolv Poeder, the speaker of Austria's parliament, along with other representatives of both chambers of the National Council. Magdalena Vasaryova, Czechoslovak ambassador to Austria, was also present.

Holds Talks With Officials

LD1704163690 Prague CTK in English 1528 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Vienna April 17 (CTK correspondent)—Alexander Dubcek, chairman of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly, met his Austrian counterpart Rudolf Poeder here today.

Dubcek, who arrived for a one-day official visit to Austria at the invitation of Rudolf Poeder, president of Austria's parliament, stressed that more than 50 new laws have been adopted by the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly, creating the prerequisities necessary for Czechoslovakia's return to Europe.

In an open debate with members of Austria's National Council and with representatives of all the four political parties represented in the country's parliament, Alexander Dubcek stated that the European security problem must be solved by joint efforts of the European countries.

He recalled Czechoslovakia's proposals in this respect.

Environmental protection and the prospects of nuclear power industry, as well as problems concerning investments and ownership were also discussed. Alexander Dubcek and Rudolf Poeder agreed in appreciating the traditionally good relations between Austria and Czechoslovakia and expressed their conviction that these relations will strengthen in the present conditions.

Alexander Dubcek met also with the Austria-Czechoslovakia society's representatives and discussed with them the possibilities of enriching this institution's activities.

Views Problems With New State Name

AU1704182090 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1600 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Armin Wolf report]

[Excerpts] Although Alexandr Dubcek has lived in Bratislava—which is only 60 km away from Vienna—for 30 years, today he paid only his second visit to Vienna. Following a private visit in 1960, today he arrived on an official visit, as the number two man of a Czechoslovakia which has become democratic. [passage omitted]

Concerning the renewed debate about his country's name, which is to be changed again by the Prague Parliament tomorrow, Dubcek told Austrian Radio and Television Service, ORF: We have underestimated this conflict. He added:

[Begin Dubcek recording in Slovak with superimposed German translation] This principle of federalism is also to be expressed by the name of the state, which is to be based on the equality of the two peoples: the Czechs and Slovaks. Parliament already has received a draft, which states: Czech and Slovak Federative Republic. This proposal corresponds to the principles of our state as a federation, and now it just depends on the deputies which decision they will make. [end recording]

Because of the his parliament's heavy schedule, Dubcek will return to Prague this evening. He concluded his visit to Vienna with visits to President Waldheim and Chancellor Vranitzky.

Meets With Waldheim

LD1704190490 Prague CTK in English 1746 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Vienna April 17 (CTK correspondent)—Visiting Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek was received here today by Austrian President Kurt Waldheim, whom he acquainted with the political, social and eocnomic situation in Czechoslovakia.

The two officials considered possibilities of close cooperation between the states in Central europe. For Czechoslovakia and Austria it means mainly establishment of joint ventures and development of other progressive forms of economic cooperation.

Economic aspects of the development of bilateral ties were also on the agenda of Alexander Dubcek's talks with Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky. Under discussion were topics concerning the incorporation of national economies into the European economic integration. The chancellor was also interested in almost permanent activities of the Czechoslovak Parliament. He pointed out many examples documenting the favourable development of the two countries' cooperation and the possibilities which have not yet been used.

Satisfied With Outcome of Visit

LD1704205290 Prague CTK in English 1915 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Vienna April 17 (CTK correspondent)—The mission of today's visit to Austria was successfully completed, Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek told CTK here today adding that it means that another step was made in political contacts.

He stated that cooperation between the two countries' parliaments was extended and better prerequisites for the development of economic cooperation were created.

Alexander Dubcek said he had found in Austria what Czechoslovakia needed, i.e. support for the country's admission to the International Monetary Fund and other international institutions.

In the evening the Federal Assembly chairman ended his one-day visit to Austria and left here for home.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND on New Government

AU1704172390 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14-15 Apr 90 p 1

[Gerd Prokot commentary: "Style and Goals"]

[Text] The term "historic" has been used so frequently since autumn 1989 that one shies away from using it. But how else can one describe what took place in the People's Chamber on Maundy Thursday. With the swearing in of the new government on law and order, after 40 years the GDR constituted itself as a free, democratic community. Thus, for a limited period until their merger, there are two states with equal rights in every respect on German soil. By using their right of self-determination, the people in the GDR removed the last basis from Bonn's claim to be their sole representative and from Bonn's presumed duty to care "for all Germans."

It must be doubted whether Bonn's politicians have already become fully aware of this fact. Without consulting the GDR, a state treaty was drafted, which rather seems to be a document of capitulation. While the FRG Government is exclusively reserving rights to itself, the GDR is dictated only duties. Representatives of the GDR opposition speak of "thinking in terms of colonization."

Nevertheless, Helmut Kohl was among the first to congratulate the new head of government De Maiziere. It would certainly have been an appropriate gesture by the chancellor if he had also thanked outgoing Hans Modrow and his cabinet. After all, during the time of upheaval, this team managed to achieve the almost impossible: preventing a destabilization of the GDR. It was evidence of good style that in his first brief statement as premier, De Maiziere paid respect both to this government and to the contribution of the roundtable and the churches.

The government intends to start working with confidence, a sense of perspective, and great social responsibility. While the Modrow cabinet had to tackle the difficulties of the mountains, the new government is faced with the difficulties of the plains, since the goal is to embed the irreversible process of unification into the European process in such a way that it benefits both the Germans and their neighbors.

People's Chamber Meeting To Begin 19 Apr

LD1704124990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1100 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The third meeting of the GDR People's Chamber is to begin on 19 April 1990 at 1000. The government statement and the parliamentary debate are to be carried live on German television, according to a press statement from the People's Chamber today. In agreement with the People's Chamber, the Presidium of the Berlin People's Police is instructed to take security measures for the undisturbed work of the supreme people's representative body. From 0600 to 2300 there will be temporary restrictions to pedestrian and motor traffic in the area around Spandaeur Strasse, Marx-Engels-Platz, the Lustgarten, and Karl-Liebknecht Strasse. No rallies will be permitted in these precincts. [passage omitted]

Cabinet Discusses Government Statement

LD1804091690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0820 GMT 18 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—This morning the GDR Council of Ministers met in Berlin for the first time after its constituent session. The 23-member cabinet, headed by Premier Lothar de Maiziere, will discuss the government statement, which will be given at the third session of the People's Chamber tomorrow.

Before the beginning of the meeting, it became known that another item could be a decision on the future activities of state secretaries.

Dr. Peter-Michael Diestel, vice premier and minister of the interior, will not take part in the meeting because of his talks with FRG Interior Minister Wolfgang Schaeuble in Bonn.

Bishop Forck Declines Post of Presidency

LD1704132190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1247 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Bishop Dr. Gottfried Forck will not assume the office of GDR state president. This emerged from a statement issued by the Evangelical Church in Berlin-Brandenburg and conveyed to ADN on Tuesday [17 April]. It states that the bishop was asked some time ago whether he would be willing to assume the office of GDR state president. "Dr. Forck has spent time considering the question. However, at no time did he see any reason to leave his office as bishop of the Evangelical Church in Berlin-Brandenburg and assume a political office," it said. [passage omitted]

42 Percent Favor Independent Constitution

AU1804080590 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 11 Apr 90 p 2

[ADN report: "42 Percent of Citizens in Favor of Independent Constitution"]

[Excerpts] East Berlin—An opinion poll carried out by the Infas Institute revealed that 42 percent of GDR citizens are in favor of an independent new Constitution.

According to the opinion poll released by the GDR television on Monday evening [9 April], 38 percent support an all-German Constitution, nine percent want to adopt the FRG's Basic Law, and 11 percent did not know. [passage omitted]

The Infas poll yielded surprising results concerning voter behavior in the local elections scheduled for 6 May.

Only 19 percent want to vote for the Alliance, and the same percentage for the Social Democratic Party. Nine percent support the Party of Democratic Socialism, three percent the liberals, and three percent the Greens. Alliance 90 can rely on two percent of the voters, and the Democratic Peasants Party on one percent. One percent supports other parties.

However, the majority of the voters—43 percent—have not yet made up their minds.

Interior Minister of Dissolution of Stasi

AU1804075890 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 11 Apr 90 p 1

[NZ/ADN report: "A Job for the Entire Cabinet"]

[Text] East Berlin—Peter-Michael Diestel, a politician of the German Social Union, stated to representatives of the press that his nomination as deputy premier and interior minister in the future GDR cabinet is a great political responsibility, which he wants to tackle. As the future interior minister, he sees his main task in "stabilizing and securing changes, which we organized here in autumn." It is necessary to establish a self-confident institution, which strengthens togetherness under the current conditions and which does not impede but benefits the process of changes.

Concerning the problem of the further dissolution of the former State Security Service, Diestel explained that this will be a job for the entire cabinet, "a piece of coming to terms with history, which we will hopefully be able to manage soon."

Minister Diestel on Monetary Union, Unification

AU1704151090 Hamburg BILD in German 14 Apr 90 pp 1, 4

[Report on interview with Internal Affairs Minister Peter-Michael Diestel by Peter Bartels in Hamburg on 12 April: "Diestel: Deutsche Mark Immediately for All I Care"]

[Text] The new GDR internal affairs minister and deputy premier, Peter-Michael Diestel, is for an exchange rate of 1:1. In an interview with BILD editors in the Springer building in Hamburg on the eve of his inauguration, Diestel said: "Otherwise the Party of Democratic Socialism will get an enormous upswing. Only Chancellor Kohl can prevent this."

[Bartels] But then the conversion would have to take place before the local elections on 6 May.

[Diestel] Ask Bonn and Frankfurt. The plans for Day X are ready. For all I care, we can start immediately.

[Bartels] You are only 38, and a lawyer. Did you work for the Stasi [State Security Service]?

Diestel: I kept my personal identity separated from the structures of the socialist system. I hated the Stasi like poison. It probably hated me, too—thus, we never touched.

[Bartels] What will be your first official action?

[Diestel] To give those who became guilty in the GDR in the state and the administration a humanly acceptable departure. This means: Every single person who has to go should, at the same time, be given personal prospects again.

[Bartels] Will there be trials of the old political guard?

[Diestel] They should be sentenced in line with principles of a state based on the rule of law. But we should use Christian love of one's fellow-men where it is justifiable.

[Bartels] Including the case of Krenz and Modrow?

[Diestel] Only if the investigations against them yield results. So far, this has not been the case. Personally, I think: As a Politburo member, Krenz was responsible for security and thus also for the Stasi as the main perpetrator. This also goes for Modrow, because, as bezirk secretary, he also was responsible for security and the Stasi.

[Bartels] The new government wants the GDR to join the FRG via Article 23 of the Basic Law. When will this happen?

[Diestel] Not before the end of 1991, beginning of 1992. I am for holding all-German elections only after that date.

[Bartels] Why so late?

[Diestel] We want to prevent our people being bled again. We do not permit increasing misery and poverty. Bonn will not force any system on us. Therefore, before accession, we have to secure a specific legal position in a treaty with Bonn.

[Bartels] What about the property in houses and real estate?

[Diestel] If FRG citizens are still listed as proprietors in the GDR land register, they are theoretically entitled to their property.

[Bartels] And practically?

[Diestel] There must not be a flood of lawsuits. Therefore, we will make it clear: Every proprietor may dispose of his property, but he must accept existing leases and tenancy agreements. Specifically: He is to receive an appropriate compensation for use, that is, rent. At the same time, we must safeguard the rights of leaseholders and tenants in the united Germany in the long run. Therefore, the residential right must remain.

[Bartels] Will you change the GDR's state symbols?

[Diestel] Yes. The emblem with hammer and compass must be abolished. The flag must be just black-red-gold again.

[Bartels] How long will the coalition hold?

[Diestel] With De Maiziere, for a long time. He is a man of incredible strength, he has integrity, and he is tough. He does not permit Bonn to dictate anything to him. Neither do I, for that matter. With Mr. Schnur this would have been completely different.

Banks To Found Joint Credit Institution

LD1704125990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0818 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The German Credit Bank AG and the Deutsche Bank AG today signed a declaration of their intent to found a joint credit institution. The press office of the Credit Bank announced that the institution is to be founded once the legal requirements are in place in the GDR. [passage omitted]

State Bank President on Conversion Rate

AU1704152490

[Editorial Report] Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German on 14-15-16 April on page 32, under the headline "Monetary Union According to GDR Plans," carries a 500-word report on statements made by the president of the GDR State Bank, Horst Kaminsky, in East Berlin on the position of the GDR government on monetary union. A few points remain to be settled, Kaminsky is reported as saying.

"The FRG's Federal Bank insists on a uniform conversion rate, except for savings up to a certain amount. The GDR State Bank, however, supports a different model. It advocates the conversion of the whole amount of 170 billion marks in savings—while observing blocking periods for larger amounts—at a rate of 1:1. This should also apply to wages and salaries," the report points out.

"The liabilities of the GDR economy should be converted at a 1:2 rate so that liquidity is not endangered, Kaminsky stressed. However, this might lead to equalization claims as put forward in 1948, which would have to be met by the state. For this reason, the Federal Bank is opposed to such a solution and pleads for a uniform conversion rate."

The report concludes by stating that "Kaminsky stated that he is convinced that the State Bank will be able to fulfill the new tasks that it is facing."

New Defense Minister Outlines Policy

AU1704195690 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 12 Apr 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Reduction to 100,000 Men"]

[Text] East Berlin—According to Rainer Eppelmann, chairman of Democratic Awakening and minister-designate for disarmament and defense, the name of his ministry reflects a new approach and an entirely new program. This was his explicit wish, and only on this condition was he ready to assume this office. It is important for him that the GDR gives a sign. According to his knowledge, this combination does not exist anywhere in the world. With a view to unification, he hopes that the GDR will succeed in influencing the FRG in this respect in the process of moving closer toward each other.

His ministry and the government will directly enter into the current disarmament process, which means that they will actively participate in the Vienna disarmament talks on the reduction of the so-called conventional weapons. He expects these talks to yield significant results and agreements before the end of the year. In the field of domestic policy, this will be accompanied by the reduction of the National People's Army, which had already been started by his immediate predecessor, Admiral Hoffmann. Thus, there are plans to reduce the GDR Armed Forces from the current strength of 170,000 to 100,000 men. This means, for example, that some technical units of the National People's Army might work as independent economic units.

Concerning NATO, Rainer Eppelmann believes that the legitimate and understandable interests of the Soviet Union must be taken into consideration by all means.

This would mean, for example, that a united Germany might be a member of NATO, but that no troops of this alliance would be deployed on the territory of the present-day GDR. Thus, the National People's Army might assume a different character than the Bundeswehr.

Defense Minister Says Army Still Necessary

LD1704122790 East Berlin Deutschlandsender Network in German 1200 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] New Defense Minister Eppelmann has spoken in favor of security policy independence for the territory of the present GDR. In an interview for GDR radio today he said that even after the state unification of Germany, the NVA [People's Army] will still remain in existence. As long as there are two military alliances in Europe, there will also be two German armies. The security interests of the Soviet Union are to be taken seriously. Even in the case of German membership in the Western alliance, no NATO soldier is to be stationed on GDR territory. Here, the NVA is still needed.

Eppelmann rejected the abolition of conscription, proposed by the Party for Democratic Socialism, advocating instead the reduction of troop strength. At the same time he dampened hopes of swift savings in the defense budget; although the resources were no longer needed for weapons, disarmament, too, is expensive.

Coastal Brigade Subordinated to Border Troops

LD1704173490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1611 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Coastal Border Brigade was officially subordinated on Tuesday [17 April] to the GDR Border Troops. Until now it was entrusted with the tasks of securing the border in the coastal area and at sea while being simultaneously subordinated to the People's Navy.

According to a press statement from the Border Command, sovereignty over passports and visas, investigations, and safeguarding the security and order along the entire state border is now the complete responsibility of the GDR Border Troops. That includes all border crossing points as well as sea ports and airports.

Turnover of Debrecen Airport This Week Denied

LD1704164790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] The interministerial commission dealing with the withdrawal of Soviet troops has denied that the turnover of Debrecen Airport might begin this week. In the coming days, an inspection of the premises will be held, which will be restricted to local representatives of the parties. A representative of the commission has also appealed to the public not to use the press to discuss local issues related to the troop withdrawal, since this hampers the work of the body. The interministerial commission has promised that if the documents pertaining to the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary are disclosed in detail, the public will also be informed about the results.

Envoy Addresses Vienna Disarmament Forum

LD1204200790 Budapest MTI in English 1702 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] Vienna, April 12 (MTI)—At the Thursday [12 April] session of the Vienna talks on European conventional arms control, it was the priority of the rights and obligations of individual states in connection with disarmament that was emphasized as against the bloc approach by Ambassador David Meiszter, head of the Hungarian delegation.

In his contribution, Mr Meiszter pointed out that the agreement reached by the 23 Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries should adequately reflect the far-reaching changes in Eastern Europe if it was to survive in the long term.

This requires the negotiating sides to take definite measures even now to surpass the view based on the military balance between blocs prevalent earlier to concentrate instead on the problem of what rights and duties individual states should undertake.

The Hungarian diplomat said under the new approach, maximum arms levels allowed for the two state groups—NATO and Warsaw Treaty members—should be set only as general figures to technically facilitate determining each country's share in the disarmament relating to the whole of Europe.

Election Committee Discusses Complaints

LD1704201190 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] The National Election Committee has discussed objections submitted in connection with the elections. Complaints have arrived from eight places; two cases will be handed over to the responsible courts, which could have an effect on the fate of the mandates. These involve the fifth and 11th electoral districts of Budapest.

The case of the first electoral district of Eger is also to be put before the court. It is expected that the last lawsuit will be finished by the 19th [not further specified], and that credentials could be handed over on the 20th, but only if the court decisions will not change the results of the votes received to date. If the courts consider that the violation of the law is proven and they invalidate the election results of the respective districts, then in those places, by-elections will probably have to be held, which might bring changes not only regarding the individual mandates but, on the basis of partial votes, also in the mandates distributed from the national party lists.

Antall Denies Threatening German Journalist

LD1704200490 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] The Hamburg-based SPIEGEL has commented on some of the remarks made by the chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]. The Berlin correspondent of MAGYAR HIRLAP read in SPIEGEL that Jozsef Antall had threatened, in a sharply worded letter, one of the employees of the FRG Television Channel One because the latter had allegedly asked questions about the potential anti-Semitic trends within the MDF. My colleagues have interviewed Jozsef Antall on this question.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Have you written a letter in connection with the fact that you will in the future make life difficult in Hungary for the correspondent of FRG Television Channel One in respect to his work as a reporter?

[Antall] That is totally untrue. First, I have not written any kind of letter to the German correspondent and thus I could not have threatened him in a letter. I have asked the Hungarian intermediary to inform the German journalist who made the film before the election to make it possible for me to make a statement, because I had no chance to expound on my reply to the question he put to me because the program ended.

[Reporter] According to this, it was the Hungarian intermediary who had written a letter to Germany?

[Antall] The Hungarian go-between has said something on the basis of our telephone conversation, out of which this news may have stemmed. However, once more I stress that neither have I written any letter nor has it occurred to me to threaten anybody with making his life difficult—it is such nonsense that I cannot even say anything in this regard. [end recording]

Parties' Leaders Discuss Coalition Talks

LD1704193990 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] The three-day Easter holiday did not mean a rest from work in politics. At least, the coalition talks continued in the background. Our correspondents have visited the three parties concerned, the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP], the Independent Smallholders Party [FKGP], and the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF].

[Begin recording] [Reporter] From the KDNP's viewpoint, how do the coalition talks now stand?

[Sandor Keresztes, KDNP chairman] Perhaps I could say at the very beginning, that we held the first informative talks on Friday, 13 April, with the MDF Chairman Jozef Antall. I have to say I was surprised that perhaps it was not palpable in the chairman's first words that he might have sufficiently valued the support which we gave to MDF candidates and which resulted in this big victory. I sincerely have to say there are differences between certain ideas.

[Reporter] Which ministries would the Christian Democrats willingly be responsible for in the new government?

[Keresztes] Perhaps one would be the ministry dealing with health and welfare affairs, another would be that of education, but neither is justice affairs alien to us.

[Istvan Prepeliczay, FKGP general secretary] I would not yet call these coalition talks. It is true we decided the national board would determine whether or not we are to enter into a coalition. However, we always have emphasized there is a precondition to our becoming anyone's coalition partner; this is that it should accept our agrarian program in substance. We by all means absolutely insist on one thing, and this is the Ministry of Agriculture.

In all truth, I have to say the Ministry of the Interior is closest to our heart, since what was most painful in the past, in the past of the Smallholders' Party was that the Ministry of the Interior was not in the hands of the Smallholders' Party after '45 and we very much paid the price for this. [Reporter] The report has again spread that you have been expelled from the leadership of the Smallholders' Party. Does this have any grounds?

[Prepeliczay] No, it has no special grounds. I have to say there have always been differences, since virtually the first minute we were founded anew. However, these differences appear to be big to a much greater extent when reflected in the press. Even today, PESTI HIRLAP has an article [word indistinct] that says this delegation is holding talks with the MDF is doing so in opposition to the leadership. Well, that is not true, because the leadership sent them to hold talks.

[Jozsef Antall, MDF chairman] We are in the first phase of coalition talks, which means that we, properly speaking, are weighing up the ministries which are in question in Hungary, which ministries must be retained or transformed. I should like very much to emphasize the retraining of the work force is a key issue, and that employment requires a ministry and portfolio at a ministerial level. Enormous tasks fall on all the ministries, and for this reason I would oppose the ranking by anyone of the ministries and ministerial portfolios.

[Reporter] Mr. Chairman, it has been said, however, that the MDF has a claim to certain portfolios of strategic importance. Does this mean, in practice...

[Antall, interrupting] I believe it is a misunderstanding, and what is primarily is a misunderstanding is that the Ministry of Defense and the ministership of defense might, from a certain viewpoint, not belong to the portfolios of primary importance.

[Reporter] You at the moment are MDF chairman. Very many people see in you the future premier. If you are asked to take it on, will you accept it?

[Antall] If I am asked to do so by the interim head of state, I will accept the formation of a government. At least, I will try to do so. [end recording]

Smallholders Party Chief Denies Allegations

LD1704224990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Was Jozsef Torgyan a Workers' Guard? Tibor Hollauer has questioned the noted Smallholders' Party leader about information in this regard, obtained by the satirical paper HOCIPOE [SNOWSHOE]:

[Begin recording] [Hollauer] Jozsef Torgyan, I do not know whether you saw the most recent issue of the satirical paper HOCIPOE, which appears biweekly.

[Torgyan] No, no.

[Hollauer] "Sensational Disclosure: Jozsef Torgyan Was A Workers' Guard"— this is the title in large print. Under it are two photos. On one is the July 1989 issue of the paper WORKERS GUARD, which has ceased to exist, showing a man in Workers' Guard uniform, who without a doubt resembles you. He is holding a child in his arms, and beside it is the inscription—the paper is quoted from—"Torgyan (shouting): 'As long as this sacred uniform is taut on my body, as long as the blood in my veins is red, as long as the tears in my child's eyes do not glitter, but outright twinkle, every heartbeat of mine will belong to the working people and its vanguard.'" The subscript to the other picture: "And here on the other picture Torgyan is applauding the new national Christian regime."

[Torgyan] Do not take this as offense, since it is not you to whom I address this, but there ought to be a limit to impudence, and I never objected to a free expression of opinions, but this is the case when I shall lodge a criminal complaint.

[Hollauer] Does this mean that you were not a Workers' Guard?

[Torgyan] Of course I was not a Workers' Guard, nor was I a Party member. Of course I was always a Magyar man, of the opposition. As a consequence, not only was I not a Workers' Guard, but it never occurred to me to sympathize with such an organization against the people, not to speak of being a member of it. [end recording]

MSZP Parliamentary Group Elects Pozsgay

LD1704170290 Budapest MTI in English 1414 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 17 (MTI)—The parliamentary group of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] held its founding session on Tuesday, under the chairmanship of Rezso Nyers.

Imre Pozsgay was elected head of the group by unanimous vote.

Participants discussed and adopted the socialist factions' stand on the agenda of the new parliament.

They stated "the socialists are preparing for their role as an opposition party by doing active parliamentary work."

Spokesman: 'Jaruzelski Does Not Intend To Resign'

LD1804015390 Warsaw PAP in English 2240 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 17—Slawomir Witek, the spokesman of Poland's president, stated on Tuesday that President Wojciech Jaruzelski does not intend to resign from his post and will occupy it as long as it is necessary.

The spokesman also noted that cooperation between the president and Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government and parliament was very good and there were no facts which at the moment could cut the president's term in office.

General Jaruzelski was elected Poland's president in July 1989 for a six-year term. In the past week Solidarnosc Chairman Lech Walesa criticized his performance suggesting that he was willing to run for the post.

The spokesman also added that in the case of early parliamentary elections General Jaruzelski would seek the support of the newly elected parliament.

Senate Speaker on Disarmament, Defense Policy

AU1304130090 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ in Polish 10 Apr 90 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Senate Speaker Professor Andrzej Stelmachowski by Janusz B. Grochowski; place and date not given: "We Must Not Disarm"]

[Text] [Grochowski] The POLITYKA article "A Test For All Those Who Are Politically Confused," suggests three alternatives for Poland's defense. First, a strong national Army; second, a small Army, but backed up by strong alliances; and third, to strive for disarmament in Poland and other countries. Which alternative do you prefer?

[Stelmachowski] There can be no talk of disarmament. The international situation does not look as rosy as it did a year ago. Then it seemed that the desire for disarmament was going to reach such a pitch that it would remove all the dangers in Europe. In the meantime, the development of events linked to the issue of German reunification, as well as other problems that our neighbors have begun to experience, make it obvious that we should not disarm. On the contrary, the Army ought to be strengthened and modernized, all the more so, because given the waning influence of the great military blocs, NATO, the Warsaw Pact, the national Army's significance is bound to increase, especially in our part of Europe. Of course, every politician should seek security through appropriate alliances, but even here it cannot be a matter of indifference as to the real potential such alliances can muster. It is certain that we must not repeat the errors our forefathers made in the 18th century. The Polish state was weakened to such an extent that it fell victim to its neighbors.

[Grochowski] What you say is somewhat different to the existing reality. Defense expenditure has been reduced for several years. At one time, saving on defense was seen as the cure for all our economic problems. Is this view about to change?

[Stelmachowski] Not this year, because in line with the economic reforms resources have to be directed elsewhere. Next year we have to think of increasing our military expenditure gradually. In all reality, our Army is not in the best of health. Obviously, we need simultaneous and far reaching internal changes in the Army. Certain branches were overdeveloped....

[Grochowski] Are you referring to the political educational branch?

[Stelmachowski] The structures of the great Warsaw Pact Army overdeveloped the auxiliary and back-up services. This was not only confined to the political branch. At the same time we have some glaring gaps in our front line services. It is obvious that we shall never be a power in some areas, for example, the Navy, which is extremely expensive to develop and for strategic reasons has no chance whatsoever of playing a significant role. However, we possess all the attributes to create a strong air force and other forces capable of fast response.

[Grochowski] Nevertheless, we are witnessing an outflow of manpower, especially from those formations that you have mentioned. I fear that before we receive any money we shall not have enough trained personnel.

[Stelmachowski] This is a worrying state of affairs and we have to counteract it. We have to ensure that the Polish Army is strong and capable of independent action. This does not preclude us from entering into alliances, but we must preserve our autonomy. Until now, this was only one link in the chain in the general system of the Warsaw Pact armies.

[Grochowski] Does the newly adopted defense doctrine reflect these aspirations?

[Stelmachowski] It is clearly tending in this direction. As you know, it is not doctrines that prevail, but practice. We have a lot to do in this field. It is important to agree on a common objective and ensure a change of spirit that would then pervade the armed forces. It is impermissible that the aims of the recruit should differ from the officer cadres. The recruit aims at muddling through and to get out of uniform as quickly as possible. It is a different matter that as the Army modernizes it has to become a professional career Army and thereby the length of military service will be reduced. I personally think that 12 months military service is quite sufficient.

[Grochowski] Does your membership in the National Defense Committee [KOK] give you the feeling that you are a member of some super-government. Do we need this institution? There is no point in hiding that many people have serious doubts on the point.

[Stelmachowski] It is necessary, because military matters are very subjective. If there were no KOK, there would have been some other body called by a different name

that would have had to perform a similar function. There are issues that require coordination between the Army and other state organs. This is the task which the KOK performs. It is not, nor can it become a kind of supergovernment. The existing parity between the military representatives and the civilians who sit on this committee will ensure this balance. Nevertheless, in the future it would be better if the composition of the committee is defined in advance so that the government can have a deciding influence in this committee.

Solidarity Weekly on Internal Affairs Ministry

AU1804090990 Warsaw TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC in Polish 13 Apr 90 pp 1, 17

[Jan Olszewski article: "The Return of the Secret Police"]

[Text] When did communist rule end in Poland? Was it on the day of the parliamentary elections, 4 June 1989? Or when the new parliament deleted the constitutional clause about the leading role of the Communist Party? Or when that party ceremoniously declared the end of its historic mission?

Despite all these historic events, many citizens doubt whether the communists have really relinquished their power. These people probably remember very well how the founders of Bolshevism interpreted the meaning of power. Lenin described state power as a "special machine by which one class, the majority, strangles the other, the minority. What is this power based on? On special armed units of people, who control the prisons." Lenin knew what he was talking about. Communist rule is implemented not by the parliament, administration, or judiciary, not even by the party and its nomenklatura. It is implemented by the aforementioned "special armed units of people," in other words the police, which might be given many different forms and disguises. In this context, the bell for the communist system is only tolling now, at a time when a package of draft legislation dealing with the Internal Affairs Ministry, Citizens Militia, and Security Service is on the parliamentary agenda.

For the sake of a warning, perhaps one should at this point recall the events of October 1956. In that year, everything seemed to indicate that the era of police rule under "real socialism" was ending. The party was furiously purging itself of the errors and distortions of Stalinism. The judiciary and prosecutor's offices were slowly resuming normal work. The secret police were disintegrating. The press kept publishing hitherto unknown evidence of its atrocities. Society loudly demanded punishment for the perpetrators and compensation for the victims. Within the walls of secret police buildings the temperature reached boiling point. Rank and file secret policemen attacked their superiors for their former crimes and current opportunism. The supervisors themselves declared a desire for renewal, and discreetly pointed accusing fingers at their underlings, calling them a dim-witted, hard-line communist plebs that endangered the process of making the system democratic. In such a situation, Gomulka, himself a recent political prisoner, who in his time enjoyed greater social support than Mazowiecki's government does today, decided to make a radical reform of the secret police. He reduced the number of personnel in it by two-thirds. The surviving third consisted of loyal people, people open to change and those with the least shameful record. The Committee for Security Affairs was dissolved. Its field bureaus were deprived of their independence and placed under the control of the relevant Citizens' Militia bodies. The extensive network of informers was abolished. For 2 to 3 years, society felt practically no police or political pressure at all. But then everything slowly began to return to the communist norm. The Security Service was gradually reestablished, and began to assume control over one sphere and milieu after another. The recruitment of "social informers" recommenced. The practice of warning talks, passport discrimination, and police intimidation was revived. In 1968, the police apparatus was already so strong that it was capable of dealing with Gomulka himself. This ought to be borne in mind by those who are now attempting to adapt the police services of the Polish People's Republic to the needs of a "democratic state of law and order," which is what the Polish Republic is supposed to be according to Article 1 of the Constitution.

Does such an attempt stand any chance of success? The Internal Affairs Ministry in its present form is a classic product of the Leninist theory about a state governed by a revolutionary dictatorship, in which a minority, claiming to advocate some invented doctrine, attempts to strangle the natural inclinations of the majority which it rules. The machine for strangling this majority has been waging a kind of eternal cold civil war against its own society, as illustrated by numerous episodes such as June 1956 and 1976, or December 1970 and 1981. A characteristic feature of this confrontation was the merger and mingling of two battle fronts; one against the "class enemy," and one against foreign "agencies of imperialism." In the eyes of the communist police services, every foreigner (except, of course, those in the fraternal socialist countries) was a natural enemy of the system, and every domestic dissident or oppositionist was a potential spy or agent. Therefore, inside the police apparatus, intelligence, counterintelligence, and law-enforcement tasks were so mixed up that they reached the peak of absurdity, exceeding the realm of the rational principles applied by special services in any normal country. In a state governed by the rule of law, it is unthinkable for an interior minister to be in charge of a network of agents thousands of kilometers beyond the country's borders. Likewise, it seems ridiculous that counterintelligence functionaries should monitor the "antistate" activity of a journalist who has published politically incorrect views while avoiding the censor. These are all normal practices in a communist country. For example, a few years ago, at Warsaw Airport, the interior minister of the Polish People's Republic officially welcomed a functionary of his ministry who had

just returned from an unspecified "special mission" to the United States. On the other hand, activists belonging to a certain trade union that used to be illegal could write long books on the work of our counterintelligence, on the basis of their own experience.

This seemingly odd "mixture of tasks" has a bearing on the work style and methods of the entire security apparatus. Every country has an intelligence and counterintelligence service. Also, in every country, these are spheres in which strict adherence to the law is considered a luxury. An intelligence service that actually conforms to the letter of the law is either a caricature of counterintelligence, or a caricature of the rule of law. This is a sphere in which state interests come before the law. In a country ruled by law and order, in which the police, including political police, are controlled by the prosecutor's offices or by impartial courts, intelligence services keep a safe distance from these courts. But in a totalitarian system it is the other way around; it is the courts that impart their own work style to internal security bodies—conspiracy, provocation, and political intrigue. Whoever needs convincing about the truth of this can read the most authoritative evidence there is—the memoirs of General Wladyslaw Pozoga, internal affairs vice Minister of the Polish People's Republic.

If the future status of the Internal Affairs Ministry is to suit a country governed by the rule of law, as mentioned in the Constitution, then this ministry has to be given back the responsibilities that its name implies. Under the Second Republic, the Internal Affairs Ministry supervised the regional administration. The state police was merely one branch of this administration. Today's post-People's Republic Internal Affairs Ministry is not a regional administration ministry, but a police ministry, and this function is preserved by the interior ministry bill that has been placed before parliament. The only non-police function entrusted to the ministry by the new bill is supervision over the fire brigade. Does a government of the Polish Republic really need a Internal Affairs Ministry that is a straightforward continuation of the Stalinist Public Security Ministry?

Another two features of this bill are a cause for concern. THe first is its carte blanche nature. The interior minister's exact scope of duties; the ministry's organizational statute; the list of bodies, including military bodies, under the minister's command; and the list of enterprises under ministerial control are to be established by government decisions later.

The second disturbing feature of the bill is the minister's freedom of action. Having confidential material at his disposal, he may authorize any Interior Ministry employee or soldier to disclose state or official secrets to a given individual and organization, as he thinks fit. Only important information that could have a bearing on state security has to be conveyed by him to the president of the Polish Republic or the chairman of the Council of Ministers. But of course, it is the minister himself who will decide what is important and what is not.

The bills on the Police and State Protection Office concern the transformation of the two chief mechanisms of the police apparatus of the Polish People's Republic—the Citizens' Militia and the Security Service. Generally speaking, this reform will be a reversal of the treatment applied to these bodies after October 1956.

Gomulka abolished the independence of the Security Service and incorporated it in the Citizens' Militia. After a while, it turned out that instead of the citizens' militia element curbing the security police element, the security police element was dominating the citizens' militia element. Therefore, in order to rectify the situation, today's reformers are once again placing the two bodies far apart. The only thing they have in common is their "hat"—the Internal Affairs Ministry continues to supervise both of them.

The idea of changing the Citizens' Militia into a police force seems feasible, and has received quite a sensible legislative framework. Of course one can argue about the detailed solutions, but that is pure judicial nit-picking.

It is different with the proposed State Protection Office. This body will be organized by the Internal Affairs Minister within three months of the day on which the bill becomes law. It will be created out of the property, documents, and personnel of the Security Service, which will then be abolished. The bill does not say anything about the principles by which people applying for jobs with the new Office are going to be assessed. Once again, this will be subject to arbitrary decisions by the minister. Gomulka applied the very same principles of "security service perestroyka" in 1956. We all know the results.

Nevertheless, one fears the new Office will inherit not just the personnel, but also the specific tasks and structure of its predecessor. Article 1 of the bill says that the tasks of the State Protection Office include "identifying and counteracting threats to the state's security, defense, independence, and integrity." That sounds nice, but says nothing about this Office's real functions. Two other legislative articles reveal somewhat more of the truth. Article 2, paragraph 1 recalls that "tasks entrusted to the State Protection Office are also performed by the intelligence and counterintelligence services under the control of the national defense minister," whereas Article 6 of the Internal Affairs Ministry Act says that "at the behest of the internal affairs and national defense ministers, the chairman of the Council of Ministers shall demarcate the scope of tasks between the Police, State Protection Office, Fire Brigade, Border Guard, military peacekeeping bodies, and the intelligence and counterintelligence services under the command of the chairman of the Council of Ministers."

I doubt if Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki realizes what kind of dough the above two bills are kneading for him. Blending together the intelligence, counterintelligence,

and fire brigade may look like bureaucratic satire. But I think the matter is more serious. This is an attempt to preserve an organizational structure that was born in a different era and is based on well-known communist patterns that should disappear irretrievably into the past together with the formal abolition of the Security Service.

One more fact indicates the intentions of the authors of the bill. The new Police will have prewar ranks, in other words sergeant, commissioner, and inspector; whereas the new State Protection Office will retain military ranks, including the rank of general for senior officials.

It is difficult to imagine generals without an army. However, is the same kind of army of "armed people" necessary to protect the democratic state order as the one Lenin considered essential in order to strangle society's hostility toward totalitarianism? In such a system, the strength of the state is gauged by the strength of the police. In a democratic system, the strength of the state is gauged by the strength and permanence of the infrastructure of a civic society. We are only just beginning to build such a structure in Poland. Right now it is still unstable.

Mazowiecki, Miodowicz Discuss OPZZ Proposals

LD1104014390 Warsaw PAP in English
2015 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 10—The second round of talks between the government and the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) attended by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki and OPZZ chairman Alfred Miodowicz was held here today.

The meeting discussed a packet of proposals on protective measures submitted to the government side by the OPZZ in February.

The government representatives stated that the current stage of the stabilization programme does not permit to meet the proposals as it might jeopardize the whole economic operation. They promised however that starting from May restrictive mechanisms will be gradually alleviated, through raising the wages growth index not subject to taxation, for instance.

The government side announced also that the lowest wages will be raised.

According to the unionists the planned actions do not guarantee an improvement of real wages, they come too late and are insufficient.

Mazowiecki Receives Railway Representatives

LD1204024490 Warsaw PAP in English
2037 GMT 11 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 11—Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki received representatives of the National Section of Railwaymen of the NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union] "Solidarnosc" here today.

The talk concerned issues connected with the working conditions at railways as well as the financial condition of the enterprise and trade unionists' expectations as to the structural changes in the PKP Polish State Railways.

The representatives of railwaymen told PAP that they managed to discuss several matters which constituted the source of the current railwaymen's protests. The trade unionists gained support as to the reform of the PKP enterprise postulated by them.

Mazowiecki Attends Peasant Party Caucus

LD1804051190 Warsaw PAP in English
2355 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 17—The parliamentary floor group of the PSL "Odrodzenie" Polish Peasant Party held a nearly 5-hour meeting today which was attended by Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki and government members in charge of economic matters.

Caucus Chairman Deputy Jozef Zych stated in part: "Peasant activists are not appreciated in the government's policy while issues of the countryside and agriculture encounter lack of understanding. Farming production is collapsing because of this. In order to reverse these negative trends it is necessary to introduce corrections in the economic program now being pursued."

Responding, Mazowiecki said: "It is not my intention not to appreciate issues of agriculture, the peasant movement and PSL 'Odrodzenie.' Let us seek solutions which would not destroy the economic program." Referring to the correction program presented by PSL "O", the prime minister stated that some of its elements were currently being put into effect by the government. "There are also elements in this program which exceed beyond the government program pursued nowadays and are not conducive to economic stability," he added.

"Poland needs foreign capital and the government will try to pursuade businessmen from various countries to invest in Poland and not give preferences to any one country. A surplus of foreign capital is not dangerous for Poland at present," Mazowiecki told the peasant activists.

Vice Minister of Finance Marek Dabrowski took issue with the thesis about an exceptionally big recession which supposedly affects Polish agriculture. "Data on farming production from this March contradicts this," he said.

The meeting also dealt with matters other than the countryside and agriculture. Mazowiecki was asked outright whether he envisaged personnel changes in the government. He replied that he had no such plans and were they to surface he would announce this himself.

Freedom of Local Elections Previewed

AU1104214590 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 6 Apr 90 p 1

[Renata Wrobel report: "Really Free"]

[Text] "How different are the present election rules from previous ones?" Senator Jerzy Stepien, general electoral commissioner, was asked at a news conference on 5 April. "They are different in every single way," he replied. "These will be the first completely free and democratic elections in Poland for a very long time. All the election rules so far have restricted voting rights in a fundamental manner. There used to be institutions whose task was to make a preliminary selection of candidates. In fact, they selected local government councillors themselves. Now the only major restriction is a minimum level of support required—15 signatures in small districts, and 150 in large ones."

Can a person who has been living in a certain district without being registered there vote and become a councillor in that district? J. Stepien replied that most of the members of the general election committee have decided that the expression "persons permanently resident within the area of a council," which used to appear in the old election rules, does not mean mere permanent registration. Persons without permanent registration may apply to be included on the electoral roll. For this purpose, they must file an application at least three days before the elections with the appropriate local government body, which will issue a decision within three days. A positive decision will signify active voting rights that also, of course, involves passive voting rights. In case of a negative decision, the voter may appeal to a regional court, which also has three days in which to reach a decision. This entire procedure does not involve any expenses for the applicant.

On what principles will parties and groups of citizens wishing to present their election programs have free access to radio and television? In order to permit this, additional air time has been allocated for regional television and radio stations. Last week, the general election commissioner asked the 32 most important parties and groups to suggest ways of using this air time. So far, 18 replies have been received containing very diversified ideas. We will discover on 7 April which one has been chosen.

"The election machine is at full steam," said J. Stepien. "For the time being, the election calendar is not in danger of disruption, and we are even managing to implement it ahead of time. The state budget has allocated 150 billion zloties for the entire election campaign."

Sejm Session Confirms 'No Rapid' Privatization

AU1104213090 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 6 Apr 90 pp 1,2

[Zofia Krajewska report: "Harsh Blows"]

[Text] The first day of the parliamentary debate confirmed what everyone, including members of the government, had feared, that one can expect no rapid and harmonious decisions concerning privatization. The government bills on privatizing state enterprises and setting up an agency to deal with transfers of ownership failed to win the deputies' approval. Of the 22 people who spoke not one approved of the government's proposals. The list of objections escalated with every single speech, to the point where the entire floor debate can be summarized by the statement that everyone was in favor of privatization, but not the government's privatization bill.

The debate, which was preceded by Deputy Premier Leszek Balcerowicz's speech, was punctuated by harsh blows from the very outset. Jan Krzysztof Bielecki and Ireneusz Sekula commenced the series of blows, which were continued by others. A particularly harsh volley against the government bills was delivered by Ryszard Bugaj and Czeslaw Kowalski, both from the Citizens' Parliamentary Club.

It is useless, they said, to expect that privatization involves nothing but gain. It is essential to tell society that transfers of ownership bring profit to some, but loss to others. However, the point is that the profits and losses should balance in the final reckoning. In the opinion of the deputies, the privatization legislation in its present shape fails to guarantee that. The privatization of enterprises in the manner suggested by Minister Lis holds no chance of success, it was said.

The next controversial topic was money. Privatization requires money, and a lot of it. One can value the nation's assets at $100 billion, or 100 trillion zlotys. Given the current trends and situation with savings, all the working people of Poland would be able to buy up every enterprise in the course of 10 years, if they bought nothing but food and invested the rest of their money in shares. On the other hand, the difficulty of achieving this is apparent when one realizes that society's savings deposits amount to a few trillion zlotys. In such a situation, only credits can accelerate privatization. But the banks are state owned, which means that privatization would actually be financed by the state. The only chance is a rapid development of commercial banks, but the government bills are silent on this topic.

Some deputies insisted that each Pole should be able to buy a proportion of state assets, just like in the GDR, where every citizen receives 40,000 marks to purchase the share of state assets that is due to him. It was repeated that the party nomenklatura and speculators were the only people capable of amassing huge capital under the socialist system. Honest working people never had a chance to become rich. Yet the government's suggestion of shares for all citizens means the go-ahead

for the old nomenklatura and "schemers" to buy enterprises. Therefore one should return to the idea of enterprise shares only being available to their employees, which would permit ordinary workers to become rich for the first time since the war.

Major criticism was expressed about the proposed solutions concerning the status of enterprises during the period of transfer of ownership. We have 7,000 enterprises. Omitting the 1,000 enterprises that must remain in state hands for various reasons, that leaves 6,000 enterprises suitable for privatization. During the period in question, these are meant to become companies controlled by the state treasury. Considering society's financial possibilities, the transitional period in question would not be at all brief. During this time, the enterprises would be disenfranchised. They would lose all the rights and independence that they have won with such difficulty. At the same time, there would be a dangerous concentration of power. Franchise holders would be beyond all control by the courts and parliament, they would become the owners of the economy. The government has never held such extraordinary powers. With so much bad experience of unbridled power behind it, one cannot see society acquiescing to such a solution.

One must work out a specifically Polish method of transferring ownership. The legislation of countries like Great Britain and the FRG, where several percent of the production potential has been privatized, cannot be applied to Poland, where 70 to 80 percent of the production potential is to be privatized. That was the claim some deputies made. Others said that we must avoid seeking a third path of development. The first path of development was successful in the capitalist countries, the second led to bankruptcy, including Poland's bankruptcy. The third path may lead Poland to join the countries of the third world.

In such a situation, compromise and accord seem difficult to achieve. Both the bills will be placed before an extraordinary commission that is due to be appointed on Friday.

Sejm Committee Reviews Party Property Report

LD1704215990 Warsaw PAP in English 2045 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 17—At its today's meeting, the Sejm Justice committee reviewed a report on the work of a government commission for establishing legal status of the property of political parties and youth organizations and for regaining the state property.

Sejm deputies decided that the government commission did not explain legal status of this property and went beyond its powers when making decisions concerning it. The Sejm committee decided to ask the justice minister to present in two weeks the state of studies on the legality of property titles issued for successors of the former PUWP [Polish United Workers Party—PZPR] and the United Peasant and Democratic Parties and former youth organizations.

The Sejm committee also decided to ask the general public prosecutor to take stock of movables of the parties mentioned above.

Miners Union Wants Changes in Economic Program

AU1304130790 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 12 Apr 90 p 3

[Stanislaw Zielinski report: "The Trade-Union of Miners Says: Balcerowicz's Plan Must Go Back To The Drawing Board"]

[Text] We decided to give the government time to get things moving. After three months of the Balcerowicz program we have not seen, nor do we foresee any real prospects of economic revitalization, stated Rajmund Moric, chairman of the Trade-Union of Miners Federation, in Katowice, at last Monday's news conference.

The federation acknowledges that as a result of the plan inflation has been checked and the internal exchange rate for the dollar has stabilized, but these effects are simply not comparable to the actual harm being caused through the negative effects, namely, the great drop in real salaries, the 30 percent drop in production, and the rising unemployment, not to mention all those people who have had to take obligatory holidays.

Given this situation, the presidium of the federation has sent an open letter to the Sejm speaker, the Senate speaker, and the premier proposing that:

—The economic program should be revised,
—Better conditions should be created for all those who have been worse hit, namely children, pensioners, and the unemployed,
—Tax thresholds in the remuneration system should be eliminated. This will lead to work motivation, increased demand, and a revitalization of the economy.

Referring to the difficult situation in the coal mining industry, the chairman of the federation stated that this was a result of the general economic climate and a disjointed economic reform approach, namely, on the one hand the macroeconomic reforms, and on the other, the reforms implemented in the coal mining industry, which, apart from doing away with some old structures have not brought the anticipated results.

In January 1990, continued Rajmund Moric, it was announced with some satisfaction that three coal mines had become profitable. In February there was less optimism, because only one mine regained profitability, and this was not necessarily through having become more effective. The coal mining industry still lacks a financial and economic program that would permit an objective comparison between the efficiency of individual coal

mines. Today we are witnessing an increasing recognition of this fact, for example, by the way Warsaw apportions subsidies.

Kiszczak Discusses Roundtable, 1970 Riots

AU1104222490 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 7-8 Apr 90 pp 1,3,4,5

[Interview with Internal Affairs Minister General Czeslaw Kiszczak by Andrzej Murawski in Warsaw on 6 April: "We Came Very Close To A 'Romanian Scenario'"]

[Excerpts] [Murawski] On 5 April 1989, you and Lech Walesa signed the final communique that brought the "roundtable" negotiations to their conclusion. Today, one increasingly hears the view that the "roundtable" is past history and its agreements are "blocking the tempo of changes" in Poland. What is your opinion?

[Kiszczak] I do not share the view that the "roundtable" is past history. I disagree even more with the view that its agreements are now acting as a brake on further reform. The agreements are seen solely by reference to the division of parliamentary seats and because the Polish United Workers Party, one of the parties to the agreement, is now defunct, the conclusion is drawn that the parliamentary division and other matters have no further relevance. This approach is, to put it mildly, simplistic.

The "roundtable" agreement on the division of parliamentary seats is only one element of the total packet we negotiated. The essence of the agreement flows from the acceptance of flexible and secure rules that were designed to enable the nation to make the transition from a post-Stalinist system to democracy and pluralism. A peaceful handover of power from one political group to another.

One often hears the view that Polish reforms have been superseded by the tempo of changes among our neighbors. I think the reality is the opposite. We have advanced further and quicker, above all more peacefully, than anyone else in our part of Europe. This is one legacy of our "roundtable" climate and a direct consequence of accepting the mechanism of dialogue and agreement that rejects the settling of old scores, revenge, and use of force. Romania is one extreme example of the danger that we have avoided. Given our Polish temperaments, things could have been much worse.

It is essential that all parties to the social dialogue draw the right conclusions from the "roundtable." Its achievements are valid, valuable, and ought to be protected and fostered. Our great success comes from the fact that over the last year Poland has undergone profound and radical changes, yet all this has been done in an evolutionary way. The superior interests of the state prevail over all political infighting. At the "roundtable" we succeeded in creating a structure that will continue to bear fruit for many years, but only if we show ourselves capable of preserving the moderation, sense of responsibility, and tolerance that were present in those talks. It would be regrettable if things began to swing the other way. [passage omitted]

[Murawski] Could one say that the concept of the "roundtable" has a longer history and that something like the "roundtable" was considered much earlier?

[Kiszczak] No. No concrete forms or opportunities to begin dialogue were discussed earlier. In any case, I take understandable pride that I was directly involved in the preparations that led to the political solutions of our internal conflicts and that those solutions have shown themselves to be effective and have been widely imitated in our part of Europe.

Regardless of the errors that we were unable to avoid in the 1980's, the laborious process of step-by-step preparations for an eventual compromise was indeed taking place. This is shown by the successive amnesties, the creation of the office of the Spokesman for Civil Rights (which today has an established tradition), the creation of a Constitutional Tribunal and Tribunal of State, the workings of the Consultative Council of the State Council chairman, the creation of a public opinion research center, as well as numerous other consultations, and so on. All these changes led to the creation of a new political atmosphere that resulted from the "roundtable."

[Murawski] What in your opinion would have happened in Poland if the "roundtable" had never happened? What would have happened if nobody had bothered to come to the table, and instead of political solutions the desire to use force had prevailed?

[Kiszczak] Instead of a direct answer, I will cite a example recalling historical events that were very painful and tragic for us all in Poland.

In reality we came very close to a "Rumanian scenario" in December 1970. I recall those days very vividly; shots, death, tragedy, chaos, uncertainty, and provocative slogans both in our internal propaganda and foreign media....[passage omitted]

[Murawski] Why have you seen fit to go over the events of 1970? Does the present moment, or present set of circumstances call for it?

[Kiszczak] No, it is rather your line of questioning, or perhaps I felt the need to go over these events. Either way, I believe that it was worth doing, because I have referred to times and facts that are especially interesting to Poles.

I have consciously omitted the names of many people who were associated with those days, be it in a bad or a good way. I have only stated my private recollections, reflections, and personal involvement during those days. All these things made a great impression on my way of thinking and shaped my political action in later days.

Government Claims No 'Information Policy'

AU1204101190 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 9 Apr 90 p 3

['J.L.'-signed report: "Without an Information Policy?"]

[Text] "I am not a information minister," said government spokesman Malgorzata Niezabitowska at a 7 April meeting of the Sejm Culture and Mass Media Commission, "and the nonexistence of such a post is a conscious decision by the premier, because in principle, the government does not pursue any information policy. We consider information policy to be a relic of the old totalitarian system. It is nothing but a manipulation of the media by various means, especially by means of censorship, and the purpose of such manipulation is propaganda. Information policy signifies interference with society's communication, and the government shuns such interference. However, our task is to create the legal framework for freedom of expression. The second government task is to see to it that journalists have unimpeded access to information sources as long as it does not endanger basic state interests. I think the government is performing both these tasks, albeit far from perfectly."

More Energetically!

"I do not agree that the government is not pursuing an information policy," argued Deputy Juliusz Braun (Citizens Parliamentary Club) [OKP]. "Not only is the government not pursuing such a policy, but it is deliberately avoiding it."

Deputy Braun's opinion was echoed by most of the deputies and senators who spoke. The very selection of what to include in the media represents a certain policy, for society is not informed of everything. The government must possess the means to explain and clarify its actions. "Deputy Premier Balcerowicz's Sejm speech was a chance for the government to explain what it was doing, but the government did not take that chance," said Deputy Andrjzej Lapicki [OKP], commission chairman. "I thought his speech was an excellent presentation of government policy, and I expected readers of the press to be furnished with explanations of the meaning of each paragraph. The electorate is asking for such explanations."

Examples of information policy pursued by other governments were given. Senator Jan Jozef Lipski mentioned the Foreign Office, whereas Deputies Jozefa Hennelowa [OKP] and Juliusz Braun underlined the need for the government and its spokesman to be more energetic at a time of such biased and premeditated criticism of the government in the postcommunist press.

M. Niezabitowska did not alter her general view whereby every policy constitutes interference and the government avoids it. However, she mentioned many of the difficulties involved in informing the public about the government's work and shaping the government's "image." Most of all, suggestions and recommendations are rarely implemented, especially as far as television is concerned. Personnel problems exist. There are only 100 people employed in various government bodies to deal with problems of information, whereas in Great Britain there are 1,200 and in France there are 1,500.

Conferences and Transcripts

News conferences by the government spokesman was the topic of a lengthy discussion. There was no way of avoiding comparisons with the past.

Admitted Jozefa Hennelowa: "I used to learn far more in the past. Sometimes this knowledge was conveyed in subtle ways. From the way in which the former spokesman told a joke or replied in a very aggressive manner, I was able to learn about the intentions of the government in a given matter more than I am able to today. Now, everything is conducted much more diplomatically." She considered it scandalous that RZECZPOSPOLITA no longer provides the transcripts of news conferences, and others agreed with her.

"As far as Mrs. Niezabitowska's news conferences are concerned, there are economic and objective reasons why no transcripts are printed," said RZECZPOSPOLITA editor-in-chief Dariusz Fikus. "In Jerzy Urban's time, RZECZPOSPOLITA had 12 columns, and now it only has eight, including two columns for announcements. We would have to give over entire columns to the transcripts. That would be a terrible reduction in our overall coverage. We cannot afford to increase the number of pages. Remember that the cost of paper has increased by a factor of 30. The second problem is that the nature of the conferences has changed. Urban's conferences and the transcripts thereof were brief shows of hatred. That is what they were designed to be, and Urban, a man to whom provocation is natural, indulged in this hatred. As a result, his conferences possessed a certain drama, a certain flavor. Today, we are chiefly involved in giving information. Now, our material is more extensive and, I fear, less attractive to the general reader. However, I have nothing against reconsidering this matter, but then our paper would have to become more concise and to the point, the very qualities other spokesman have."

More on RZECZPOSPOLITA

A lot was said about our paper, good things and bad things. Listing RZECZPOSPOLITA, the Radio and Television Committee, and PAP as institutions whose heads are appointed directly by the premier, M. Niezabitowska said that she was annoyed with RZECZPOSPOLITA because of a recent commentary that suggested that the government lacks a clear concept of foreign policy. This was a "demagogic, inappropriate article, written at the wrong time," she said.

"Do you realize who reads RZECZPOSPOLITA?" asked Deputy Barbara Labuda, who represented RZECZPOSPOLITA's editor in chief. "We believe it is read mainly

by people in politics, or, to use the Western expression, the political class, which seeks in it honest information about meetings of the Sejm, Senate, government, and similar topics. Other people treat the paper as a documentary publication. RZECZPOSPOLITA has no mass leadership, and cannot have one, if only because of the size of its circulation. Also, the paper is too specialized, but it is very much in demand by the political class. It is considered the best paper in Poland. The Sejm reports are first class. We are thankful for such a paper," concluded Barbara Labuda, probably exaggerating her praise of us.

* Government Monitoring of Foreign Media Detailed

90EP0475A Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY in Polish No 12 25 Mar 90 pp 1, 8-9

[Jerzy Morawski article: "Secret Circulation"]

[Text] Radio monitoring bulletins, "white sheets," Special Bulletins, daily MSW [Interior Affairs Ministry] information—these are some of the materials placed every morning on the desks of the president, the prime minister, and, until recently, the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] Central Committee secretaries. Such information—confidential and top secret, for the select few, for the very top echelon of state power—is not an invention of the present time or a distinctive feature of our country. The authorities everywhere have a natural propensity of sorts for living with their own secrets concealed from the public, of course, "for its own good" or "for keeping the peace." A special system for rationing messages from the world and the country was not implemented only on the banks of the Vistula. A comprehensive information service covering what was going on was designed for the elite consisting of several or several dozen people. Censors worked on the shape of the news for the rest, and before that executive editors determined what the people ought to be told.

We are looking at Bulletin No. 3111, or situation report "for the period between 0800 hours, 12 March 1990 and 0800 hours, 13 March," a so-called "dysor" prepared by the DYSOR, Discretionary Operational Service of the Government (judging by how the name sounds, it was thought up by some general during martial law) which carries the word "confidential" and a number which denotes the person with access to this information. Following the reports of voivodes on the socio-political situation in the country—among other things, that in Przesmyki (Siedlce Voivodship) a meeting of young farmers critical of the government's agricultural policy was held—other important notes appear. It turns out that in Kielce Voivodship they are waiting for the release of regulations setting forth the aid of the state given for the purchase of sires for stud farms. The entire report is three and a half pages long; it makes for pleasant reading.

Monitoring for the evening and night of 13 March of this year took up 50 sheets. It is only in a matter of speaking that they listen and write it down. An entire night shift worked on this—several journalists, translators, typists, technicians, and a copying center. For a couple hours, everybody bustled about so that several minutes after 0800 on the following day a hundred finished bulletins could be picked up by the couriers of authorized persons. One of the latter, General Szacillo, took the trouble to pick it up personally for a while; until recently, so did editor Jacek Moskwa. History has taken such a turn that the general has lost interest in what they say abroad, and the editor's driver picks it up now because Moskwa has become deputy editor in chief of RZECZPOSPOLITA.

Monitoring yielded enough material for a good-size book in the course of one night, one with a political tinge, of course. What is included in here? What was picked to pieces on the waves of the RFE [Radio Free Europe], Voice of America, BBC, RFI, Deutschlandfunk, Deutsche Welle, and Radio Vatican? All you have to do is listen. At the end of the material, there is an alphabetical index of the persons who were mentioned and "unfortunately" live in our country. Some of them are definitely among the permanent readers of the bulletin. Here are the characters of this night in various fields: Balcerowicz Leszek, Bugaj Ryszard, Borusewicz Bogdan, Daniak Aleksander, Jaranowski Michal, Jaruzelski Wojciech, Jurczyk Marian, Kaczynski Jaroslaw, Krauzowicz Andrzej, Krawczyk Wlodzimierz, Litynski Jan, Lizak Wladyslaw, Madajczyk-Krassowska Barbara, Mazowiecki Tadeusz (the most popular—RFE, BBC, DLF), Stankiewicz Tomasz, Szczepanski Jaroslaw. Next to the title of each program, the hour and band of monitoring are indicated. Overall, it is a formidable job, and it will take those who have the time and desire to read it at least two hours.

Monitoring appeared by the end of the war and has survived many things, including the people's republic. As usual, the beginnings were innocuous: Within the framework of Radio Lublin, a "Little Bee" pricked up its ears in liberated Praga, mainly in order to hear what the enemy across the Vistula was broadcasting. Editor Marian Malowist (the future professor of history) and the staff were located on the opposite side of the street, in a large one-floor villa on Sobieski Street where the exclusive restaurant "Idyll" used to be before the war. By a stroke of luck, record players using ebonite recording plates were procured from American surplus supplies. On these "dictavests," technicians recorded what the BBC said in German and Polish, as well as German and Swedish radio stations. Editor Malowist translated this and prepared materials which he furnished to the state organs.

The role of monitoring increased as the authorities established themselves; allied political parties and organizations as dedicated as the PAX [Christian Social Association] were added to the community of insiders, to say nothing of the army or security forces. In the cold-war period, the airwaves overflowed with voices unfavorable for us. Particularly bad vibes came from Munich. It was resolved to eliminate the enemy by using jammers. Unlicensed listening had its heyday when the

voice of Colonel Swiatlo discussing the security service was picked up through the static and crackle. At the time, monitoring materials proved priceless; their inclusion in the bulletins for party luminaries was banned. A single copy of the tapes with recorded stories by Swiatlo was transcribed, and the transcript was taken to Boleslaw Bierut by a motorcyclist sent from the Belweder Palace. It is no secret that revelations relayed by the office on Sobieski Street brought about changes and arrests in the security service.

Interestingly, the October thaw did not reduce the demand for monitoring but rather boosted it. From today's perspective, its glamorous years came during the reign of Wladyslaw Gomulka. Despite the well-known inclination of the master to economize, he was generous with listening to the voice of the world. The editorial office was given additional staff and equipment, and at the same time jamming was stepped up. No employee could take the bulletin home as was the case previously.

With the appearance of the new team, the significance of monitoring declined because they were looking for other means of expression. The recording group was reassigned to Radio Polonia. The people from Silesia were interested in a rapid transmission of their own image painted abroad, a favorable image, of course. In this case, the dynamism of the epoch consisted of making it a duty of the PAP [Polish Press Agency] correspondents abroad to report on a daily basis how we were praised around the world. Every night, super wheat was extracted from this information chaff, that is, the "white sheets" and "white eyes" which the PAP staff referred to as the "ones," "threes," and "sevens." At the time, this was exceptionally highly classified printed matter; for example, the "threes" were meant only for the three most significant luminaries in the country. The Foreign Editorial Office of the PAP which prepared this nourishment to be used on a pleasant morning did not even have a right to keep an office copy of "the white sheets." There was quite a predicament when someone from the entourage of the then master of ceremonies Jerzy Lukaszewicz requested an extensive analysis of intoxicating information because the editorial office did not have an archival copy.

In the first half of the 1970's, the world was excessively nice to us, and a narrow circle of the elite was eventually allowed access to "the white sheets." Lower-ranking journalists were content with the crumbs from, one might say, the master's table, reading on the sly what was meant for their bosses. Access to "the white sheets" boosted one's prestige and became a point of honor. It may have even become more important than obtaining an allocation voucher for a car. In the second half of the decade, the correspondents bent over backwards in order to find something optimistic because we were roundly condemned at the time. The growing strength of the opposition was reported increasingly often. Despite all of this, the [ruling] team was blindly in love with itself; therefore, "the white sheets" were filled with indifferent messages, and even half-sentence messages with positive undertones, due to the lack of other information.

The Special Bulletin published every day by the PAP Foreign Editorial Office entered its period of prosperity. The item was published without censorship and contained documentation from the foreign press. It was distributed to, among others, the editorial offices. However, it was not possible to use it because next to the title there was a caption: information for official use, or articles not to be used. In reality, the bulletin was virtually a bottomless pit into which everything was tossed that "came along." Terrible scandals occurred all the time due to this. The deputy editor in chief of the PAP Foreign Editorial Office, Jozef Rzeszut, recalls that at one time, when our diplomatic overtures to Qadhdhafi began, an article about him ended up in the bulletin next to a historical publication on Hitler due to a strange coincidence. Some vigilant person at the Central Committee noted that our Arab friend does not look good in this company. The editorial office drew fire.

Several days later, editor Rzeszut took part in a training session on the countries of the Third World. A lecturer from the [Central Committee] Department of Propaganda noted that it is impermissible to liken Qadhdhafi to Hitler which the PAP has allowed to happen. This is how a legend was created about the careless editors and the—fortunately—vigilant authorities.

The monitoring service also caught it at a meeting in the Committee for Radio and Television Broadcasting. In the presence of Chairman Szczepanski, Secretary Lukaszewicz stated unequivocally that news from the airwaves were manipulated at the office on Sobieski Street. The secretary was definitely not happy with the reviews done at the office which suggested that the world was less and less aware of our prosperity. Therefore, the record players from American surplus supplies were taken out of service, and cassette recorders were introduced with a view to capturing more completely what reached us.

Under martial law, monitoring attempted to track information broadcast by Radio Moscow which was reflected in the bulletin for the day Brezhnev died. At the time, the secretariat of the primate [of Poland] was placed on the distribution list of underground publications for the select few (it is still on the list). Chairman Wojciechowski (yes, there was such a person) restored the prestige of unlicensed listening by taking monitoring away from Radio Polonia and making it into a separate editorial office.

The Armed Forces undertook the monitoring of Western television from the advanced bridgehead in Slubice. Individual segments on NATO armies and movies denouncing capitalism, e.g., "This Is America" were recorded on videotape. The trophies were presented at closed shows for political officers. The special group also handled materials which appeared in the West concerning our defense. This is how they got hold of the

book "Communists in Uniform" which discussed the participation of the armed forces in preparing and introducing martial law. Five translators were drafted by the army in order to process it. After abbreviated training, the product was sent out on the basis of a distribution list.

The underground publications for the authorities began a somewhat less secretive life at the time of the round-table discussions. Confidential publications were given to the representatives of the opposition. At present, Jaroslaw Kurski, press spokesman for Lech Walesa, and GAZETA WYBORCZA (two copies) are among the customers of the radio monitoring bulletin. The publication is read with the greatest interest at the URM [Office of the Council of Ministers]—26 copies. Until its final days, the PZPR Central Committee took 22 copies. The Social Democrats are limiting themselves to eight copies. Until now, Zdzislaw Najder, chairman of the Citizens' Committee and at one time the director of the RFE, has not applied for the monitoring bulletins. It could be that he is not interested in hearing some of the voices; likewise, the employees of the monitoring service are tired of listening to, say, Alina Grabowska.

On Sobieski Street, one finds an innocuous sign—the State Organizational Unit "Polish Radio and Television." In the guard booth, a sleepy guard notices nothing. The building has shrunk, and plaster is falling off it. A small receiving antenna on the roof is dwarfed by the residential high-rises erected nearby. Nothing resembles a secret installation in the first echelon of the ideological front. Monitoring is in retreat. Western radio stations have reduced the power of transmitters because they do not have to break through jamming. On the other hand, nobody is going to replace old tube radio receivers with more sensitive ones; accordingly, the voices of the world keeping getting lost and fading.

Twenty-six people remain at their posts; they are highly trained professionals. Every day they prepare 130 copies of the bulletin, but the number of customers has been dropping rapidly. One copy of the publication costs 12,000 zlotys.

Editor Aleksander Czaja, a shift supervisor, says: "We used to be a source of special information." In the center, they note that the previous government spokesman who turned monitoring into a weapon in his struggle recently gave them a bad reputation.

They will add to the bulletin what Radio Montreal and Moscow are saying, and will sell it to the general public at the newsstands. The people may buy it.

The Special Bulletin is also in retreat. It has lost its secret character; it is no longer classified. Anybody who has a million zlotys to spare may order the publication for this year. However, in March the number of subscribers declined by 368 due to financial considerations; 1,122 readers are still paying. Some state institutions (the URM) receive free copies.

"The white sheets" no longer get anyone excited. Anybody can receive them until the end of the year for 300,000 zlotys. However, as few as 60 paying subscribers remain (26 have canceled recently). Also, there are those who receive them free of charge.

The Mazowiecki government is the first one to install a receiving teletype at the URM, and it receives whatever the PAP Foreign Editorial Office transmits on the Warsaw network. Frequently, people from the offices of the prime minister and the president call here and ask whether, for example, the text by a foreign politician read in some parliament is already available.

Nothing but the memories remains of the so-called dyskor which I mentioned in the beginning. It disappeared quietly in March 1988, and officials in the ministries still have not noticed this. It was also born in March, but in 1981. Well-known Generals Debicki, Cygan, and Dysko became the chiefs of three shifts at the time. This operational headquarters of the government played a significant role under martial law and worked briskly around the clock. One day, the military men were sent back to the point where the march began. Deputy Prime Minister Szalajda took under his wing the tasks and the orphaned civilians, and created an information group. They stopped pretending that the political situation was being determined, and started working on the economy.

Initially, the papers of the information group were distributed outside, for example, to the PZPR Central Committee and [other] parties. Now they end up only on the desks of the members of the government. They are compiled on the basis of daily reports by the voivodes and sometimes reinforced by additional analyses on the topics requested.

A summary report on the course of the economic reform in the voivodships has been published every Monday since early January of this year. To be sure, as they say at the information group, their daily product is classified "confidential," and its copies are numbered. However, it is used for analyzing the economy and making decisions rather than living a dream world.

A month ago, MSW daily bulletins stopped arriving at some ministries. A cabinet director said that it did not make much sense because GAZETA WYBORCZA publishes information on events in the country quickly.

SdRP's Position on Agriculture Viewed

AU1304205390 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 10 Apr 90 p 2

[Halina Dowda article: "The Farmers Are Being Driven Into the Arms Of the Opposition"]

[Text] "You ought to be making political capital among the farming community. As a Solidarity member, I say this with a good deal of regret. With our present agricultural policy the government will only drive the peasants

into the hands of the opposition," states Professor Marian Blazejczyk of the Polish Academy of Sciences.

A statement of this kind is surprising. Equally encouraging for the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SdRP], are the results of a public opinion poll conducted among the agricultural community. The SdRP has only recently made public its defense of the agricultural community, but the effects have been impressive.

Does the "Position of the Central Executive Committee of the SdRP On Village Life and Agriculture," give an answer to the question: Why has the SdRP adopted a different position on agriculture in contrast to the parties it is trying to model itself on? There can be no half-truths, although time does not allow for full theoretical discussions. Is it simply a matter of practicalities that has made it necessary to speak out strongly on behalf of our agriculture? Is it simply that only someone bent on political suicide could stand by while the ferment among the agricultural community reached boiling point? From such speculations it is only a short step to making wild claims about who is really winning the political battle among the peasants and I do not wish to have that accusation leveled against me.

How does SdRP's position differ from the increasing chorus of those who would defend our agriculture. Its position lacks any distinguishable appeal to the government to present a detailed and comprehensive agricultural program. The SdRP's potential political competitors, as well as its potential allies, have been calling on the government to produce this for some time now. They have even produced their own detailed proposals. Everybody has been calling for more state intervention, but this seems to mean different things to different people. Everybody has suggested that low interest finance be made available and that there ought to be minimum procurement prices. What sort of prices will the Free Agricultural Market Agency set? According to the Ministry of Agriculture these prices will be based on calculations related to the minimum viability price required by farms of a dozen or so hectares in order to survive. This will probably be nearer 20 hectares than 10 hectares. In 1987, the percentage of farms larger than 10 hectares was 17 percent of 2.6 million farms.

Is this the appropriate production viability level to adopt? Do we have enough common sense to foresee the kind of effect that such a high economic hurdle will have on agriculture? The results will not only be devastating for agriculture, they will be devastating for the city.

The government has not made its intentions toward agriculture fully clear. Judging from various slips of the tongue and amending bills that seem to have a recognizable legislative momentum, there is the hint of upcoming changes in our agricultural structure. The legislative and financial measures complement each other.

Neoliberal conceptions applied to our agriculture threaten to produce a real upheaval. By treating agriculture equally with other branches of the economy, one immediately puts it at a distinct disadvantage. The profitability of agriculture, its turnover of capital is lower, and its capital investment need is greater. The European Community would not have created a separate agricultural policy without a good reason, nor would France have evolved its "green oil" strategy without due cause.

The policy of destroying agriculture through the slogan of creating a better, more productive farming industry, threatens us with a disastrous fall in output. This begs the question: Where do we get our food from when the bankrupt farm ceases to produce and the novel farm has not yet began production?

The SdRP's warning against possible shortages of food is far too weak. The crisis will not be similar to the food crises we have experienced in recent years. The shops might still be full of food, because the horrendous prices will increasingly deter wider circles of potential customers.

The protesting farmers are fighting for their existence, states the SdRP. These farmers are also fighting for our existence.

The SdRP's Central Executive Committee has reacted in a very muted way to the fears articulated by the farmers. To my mind, the statement on development of peasant farming sounds banal, given the fact that these are the very farms that are being sentenced to death. Equally weak is its call for equal opportunity for all farms and agricultural sectors. Is the reason for this muted approach the SdRP's subconscious fear of being accused of towing its predecessor's line too openly?

Sound reasons and not doctrinal considerations should make it clear that state and cooperative farms ought not be destroyed for the sake of yet another ideology. This government has gone so far in its destruction of our agriculture that we have to support all those who have expressed a will to resist.

The SdRP has finally broken its silence on farming communities and agriculture. Will left-wing people see it as a sufficient gesture? What is more important, will the SdRP find a ready echo among the agricultural community?

SdRP Officials Hold News Conference

LD1204222490 Warsaw PAP in English 1720 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 12—Top officials of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland SdRP met here today with newsmen to present the party's economic programme, which, as was stressed, is an alternative programme or one correcting the currently implemented government programme.

The party leader Aleksander Kwasniewski said that the SdRP speaks in favour of a more egalitarian distribution

of the national icome and is against application of market rules in housing construction, health protection, education and recreation.

Asked about SdRP's stand concerning Lech Walesa's declaration on his candidature for presidential office, General Secretary of the SdRP Leszek Miller said: I think that every electrician may become a president (Miller himself was once an electrician). If one should adhere to the well-known formula: Your president—our prime minister, than we should look around for our candidate for the prime minister.

Miller, asked about the party's participation in the forthcoming elections to local self-governments, said that the SdRP will present its own lists in those constituencies where the proportional electoral law will be in forces, in the remaining ones it will make efforts to create local alliances.

Periodical for Unemployed Begins Circulation

LD1704180690 Warsaw PAP in English
1641 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 17—The first Polish periodical for unemployed persons POSREDNIAK has hit the stands.

The periodical, edited by jobless journalists, carries information on rights of the unemployed, unemployment benefit procedure, the activity of offices for employment as well as aid given by charity organizations and institutions.

Deputy Makes Statement on Lithuania

LD1804133190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1012 GMT 18 Apr 90

[Speech by Deputy Jozefa Hennelowa, of the Citizen's Parliamentary Floor Group from live relay of Sejm session in Warsaw on 18 April]

[Text] Madame Speaker, may it please the house: For several days now we have been witnessing increasingly severe pressure being exerted on Poland's northeastern neighbour, Lithuania, to force it to withdraw its declaration of independence, a declaration compatible with the constitution of the Soviet Union which is in force. Despite the fact that Lithuania's nation and authorities are moving toward their sovereignty in an entirely peaceful way, and despite constantly renewed proposals by them to commence dialogue with Moscow, threats addressed against them are multiplying. Economic restrictions to make this country, of only 3 million people, obedient, started three days ago.

Poland, which loves freedom and which, over the centuries, often paid the highest price for it, cannot be indifferent when the right to freedom in any other country is being threatened, and even more so, when there exists such an enormous difference in power and such overwhelming material superiority on one side.

We are of the opinion that all possible means should be used to support Lithuania's declarations to hold peaceful dialogue with the Soviet Union, and that a firm protest should be made against the methods of threats and blackmail, which should at last be abandoned, together with the infamous European past.

Members of the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group [OKP] who held a meeting on 18 April appeal to the Government of the Polish Republic to undertake a goodwill mission in negotiations between Lithuania and the Soviet Union's leadership.

Thank you. [applause]

Polish-Lithuanian Border Traffic 'Diminishing'

LD1704143290 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1400 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] The traffic passing through the sole Polish-Lithuanian road border crossing is diminishing from day to day. A requirement that drivers of scheduled buses and those delivering goods must carry Soviet visas has been added to the already existing restrictions. This has resulted in international bus services being suspended.

We have also received a report that about 20 residents of Lithuania, among whom there were Belorussians, Russians and Poles, organized a demonstration in front of the government of the Republic of Belorussia building in Minsk demanding that political asylum be granted to them in Belorussia.

Veterans Say Katyn Admission 'Minimum' Step

LD1704171290 Warsaw PAP in English
1349 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] London, April 17—Chairman of the Association of Polish Veterans in Great Britain Czeslaw Zychowicz conveyed to PAP the following statement in connection with Soviet Union's admission that NKVD [People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs] was responsible for the Katyn crime. Excerpts:

The current step made by Soviet authorities is the minimum of that what one could expect of them. When two years ago Gorbachev was in Poland it was expected that he will make a statement on this issue, it was known in Poland and around the world who committed the Katyn crime. However the current statement cannot be recognized as a closed case, for families of the victims are still living. In addition, there are other mass graves of Poles in the Soviet Union still not revealed.

Jaruzelski, Mazowiecki Discuss USSR Talks

LD1704190390 Warsaw PAP in English
1702 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 17—President Wojciech Jaruzelski met here today with Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

The president discussed the course and effects of talks he had held in the Soviet Union with significance given to issues of political, economic and military cooperation and progress in removing "blank spots."

Against this background, the interlocutors discussed in a broader context Poland's participation in solving international problems of interest to this country.

USSR Friendship Treaty To Be Renegotiated

LD1704162990 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Poland plans to renegotiate the Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance with the USSR so that the document, in its new shape, is deprived of the communist ideology elements, Foreign Affairs Ministry Spokesman Wladyslaw Klaczynski has announced today and added that the renegotiated treaty should take into consideration the sovereignty of both parties. Wladyslaw Klaczynski also said that the initial agreement on this issue had been achieved during Wojciech Jaruselski's visit to the USSR last week.

Foreign Policy Said To Lack Vision

AU1104204790 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 5 Apr 90 p 1

[Dawid Warszawski commentary: "We Need A New Vision"]

[Text] What is the next step for Polish foreign policy? More to the point, where is Polish foreign policy heading for generally, seeing that the continuation of former principles and aims is not possible? The government has discussed the problem and very soon Foreign Affairs Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski will address the Sejm on this very issue. However, Polish public opinion, leaving aside its reactions to current events, does not seem to be too interested in the matter. The solitary calls for the immediate recognition of Lithuania, or "squaring up" to the Germans cannot be regarded as a serious contribution to the discussion on the future of Polish foreign policy. One feels there is a lack of fundamental thinking, in other words, a lack of vision.

Regrettably, it would appear that things are no better at the Foreign Ministry, although there is the ongoing process of formulating various goals toward which Polish foreign policy ought to strive. Nevertheless, it seems that the total sum of these endeavors does not add up to a coherent whole. This was understandable in the past few months when the German question took precedence over all other thinking on international affairs. At the moment there seems to be the possibility of general negotiations on this particular issue, and thus it is time to consider a more fundamental appraisal of our foreign policy.

It is not clear whether Poland has a well thought out concept of the Europe it would like to see. Here, priorities must go to protect our national interests in the face of powerful neighbors; namely, the preservation of the order postulated by Helsinki. But, how can one reconcile the desire for independence of the Soviet republics with this order? We are also striving to join West European supranational institutions and hoping for regional rapprochement with Hungary and Czechoslovakia. It is not clear, however, whether this rapprochement is to assist the former goal, or whether it is an alternative in the event that the former becomes difficult to achieve. It is even less clear whether our southern neighbors really want such a rapprochement.

We have stated that we would like Soviet forces to remain in Poland for a little while longer; namely, until the time that a treaty regulating Polish relations with a reunified Germany is signed. We also want changes made to the Warsaw Pact. How do these two proposals fit together with one another? How will they influence our relationship to NATO? Minister Skubiszewski has talked about a "Polish-German unity of interest." On what concrete terms is this unity to be based?

It is quite clear that Poland has neither the means, nor the need to pursue a global foreign policy. However, some of our problems have a global dimension, for example, our foreign debt. Do we want separate bilateral negotiations, or do we want to return to General Wojciech Jaruzelski's concept of an agreement of all the debtor nations? His concept still has some supporters in the Foreign Ministry, but it is not clear whether the mere fact of talking about such a concept will damage Polish prospects of renegotiating its foreign debt. Another burning issue is pollution of the environment in Poland. This is an issue that has obvious global dimensions. Do we have any diplomatic initiatives in this field?

Polish foreign policy has implications which lift it out of the European context. A rapprochement with the United States is important for us. Premier Mazowiecki's recent visit to Washington has illustrated the possibilities, as well as the limitations of such a rapprochement. However, the United States is not the only country outside Europe that is important for Poland. Japan, the global financial power, is one country with whom we should be talking. Nothing is known about whether we have any policy initiatives in this direction.

One could multiply such questions. It is not a matter of trying to secure a definitive answer to all of them. In many instances this would not be possible. It is a matter of trying to stimulate discussion about these issues on the basis of a shortlist of priorities and goals, and not only on the basis of tasks and opportunities as each situation arises. There is no sign of such discussion, at least no sign of a public discussion. One has the impression that Polish foreign policy is merely responding to events as they happen.

Nevertheless, Poland, against all appearances, is capable of an active and creative foreign policy. Putting aside the desperate state of our economy, Poland's territorial and demographic potential make us an important player on the European arena. The unexpected success of our policy in relation to Germany, an initiative that gained the support of Western Europe, is ample proof of this. Without a well thought out conception we shall not be in a position to take advantage of the opportunity that this has presented to us.

Foreign Policy Contradictions Criticized

AU1704155590 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 11 Apr 90 pp 1, 2

['zl'-signed commentary: "Our Sympathies and Our Interests"]

[Text] Good propaganda means effective propaganda; namely, propaganda whose argument manages to convince those for whom it is intended. That is why I think it is wrong for the mass media close to government circles to present foreign policy as a field where Poland is scoring successes.

To be fair, one has to bear in mind that this is our first independent foreign policy since 1939. The government has to bear in mind the feelings and fears of society and these flow not just from historical experience, but from the systematic indoctrination that depicted the world according to the current political need of the ruling authorities. The government has assumed responsibility for the country at a really difficult time; namely, at a time of economic crisis and a rapidly changing political scene in East and Central Europe.

This scene gives cause for optimism and, equally, anxiety. Optimism, because the previous calm was the calm of the graveyard and living beings have no desire to stay in a cemetery for any length of time. Anxiety, because mounting questions about the future are starting to surface. The most important of these is: Are we capable of overcoming the past that has been coded into our national subconscious by generations that remember Stalinist days as well the inter war years? This is a question not just for Poles, but for all people who live in this region of Europe.

One thing is certain: The alliance that existed between the opposition elites of different countries during the days of real socialism will not completely answer the needs of nations and states. Everyone is talking about European unity, but everyone is thinking about himself. The Czechs do not want a federation with the Poles. They are a small and prosperous nation, while we are a large and poor one. The GDR's New Forum received a minimal share of the vote, because it proposed a separate and just German state, while the nation wanted reunification with their compatriots in the west. The Lithuanians, currently undergoing hard times, fear any rapprochement with Poland more than with Germany, or Russia. By remaining cordoned-off from Poland they hope to preserve their national identity which has always been threatened by the strength and attraction of Polish culture, rather than by any overt efforts to polonize them. To sum up: Everyone wants to enter a united Europe, but everyone wants to enter it separately and on their own terms. Whether these terms will ever materialize, or what is more probable, whether it will become necessary to accept the conditions dictated by Europe, is another matter.

Until now, Polish foreign policy has not elaborated any requisite terms. Many years ago, Stanislaw Cat-Mackiewicz wrote that Polish foreign policy can be summed up as either Poland's policy toward the USSR, or toward Germany. In an interview he gave to GAZETA WYBORCZA last summer, Jan Nowak-Jezioranski put forward the view that Poland can only aspire to become a junior partner to the Russians, or the Germans. Every other scenario will lead to another Duchy of Warsaw. One can of course feel slighted by such statements, or refuse to accept either view, however, I would counsel caution before we protest too violently against the above opinions.

This spring's political season has marked our foreign activity in two notable ways: Our support for Lithuanian separatism, which irritated the Russians whose political support we are trying to secure, and our increased diplomatic initiative which inaugurated our relationship with Germany by producing a conflict, and we have to remember that it is chiefly from Germany that our economic support is flowing and we hope, will continue to flow.

I know that I run the risk of being stoned for stating these facts. This only supports the contention that we thoroughly need to re-educate the consciousness of our society. This is something that Ryszard Wojna suggested several weeks ago in his daring article published in POLITYKA, an article that seems to have been passed over in silence (or not spotted?!). The article, in which Wojna criticizes Poland's diplomatic initiative toward the FRG, is entitled "Beware of The Trap."

I would equally like to explain that I do not think we are in any danger of being invaded by German, or Soviet armor; not at present, nor in the foreseeable future. Neither do I believe in a political, or military Rapallo, or a Moscow of 23 September 1939. I do believe, however, that Poland, a neighbor of a reunited Germany the most powerful member of the EEC, has a great opportunity. This opportunity may be through Poland's gradual entry into Europe, because it is through our close cooperation with West Europe, thus with the Germans, that a stream of cooperation between this part of Europe and the Soviet Union, or Russia, could begin to flow— a Russia to which Poland ought to be linked by special and friendly relations of political cooperation. The alternative to this scenario could produce a long period of Polish weakness, making it an oasis of poverty among our prospering neighbors who will gladly assume and

have already begun to compete for the role of a bridge of economic cooperation that will link Germany with the Soviet Union.

I also have the impression that in Poland there is more than one center which decides our foreign policy, and this has resulted in the following contradictions: One day we sharply criticize the Germans and the next day we declare our desire for close cooperation. Another time we declare support for Lithuania's endeavors in a much stronger way than the United States of America has done, and thereafter we rapidly declare that we do not wish to see the destabilization of the USSR.

Finance Minister Receives Canadian Counterpart

LD1004215690 Warsaw PAP in English 1625 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 10—Canadian minister of finance, who is also the chairman of the board of governors of the International Monetary Fund, Michael Wilson paid a two-day private visit to Poland and met on Tuesday with Vice-Premier and Minister of Finance Leszek Balcerowicz.

"We discussed the possibility of Canadian capital and technology transfer to Poland and cooperation of firms from both countries. A delegation of the International Monetary Fund will come to Poland soon, and as I am chairman of one of this organization's committees, the Polish side wished to learn the Fund's current views on matters of interest to Poland," Wilson told PAP.

"We also talked about the way we see external support for reforms, also in solving the debt problem in Poland," Balcerowicz said. "We think that one should create prospects for our economy. This is conditional on internal reforms whose effects we can see, but also on external support, reduction of Polish debt for one. This postulate cannot be immediately accepted by our creditors as this requires consent on the part of the supreme political circle in Western countries," he said.

Mazowiecki Receives U.S. Trade Union Leader

LD1704180790 Warsaw PAP in English 1631 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 17—Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki received Lane Kirkland, AFL-CIO president, who arrived in Poland today to attend the Solidarity congress.

Kirkland told journalists before his meeting with the premier:

American trade unions had close contacts with the Solidarity movement since the very beginning of its activity, since we regarded the goals and values of Solidarity as close to us and we thought so for all those years.

The American people, including unionists, welcomed the birth of democracy and liberty in Poland. We appreciated the significant role free trade unions played and play in this cause. We are willing to help the Solidarity movement by all means. We are ready to hear all requests, just like over past years, Kirkland stated.

Central European Nationalist Sentiments Analyzed

AU1804081790 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11 Apr 90 p 7

[Dariusz Fikus commentary: "The Powder Keg"]

[Text] Yesterday, as I was writing my report on the meeting in Bratislava, I thought about an incident that occurred on the drive leading up to the castle. A modest group of 50 demonstrators were standing there waving banners that bore the following words in English: "End the oppression of the Slovak minority living in Hungary." TRYBUNA's correspondent deemed it appropriate to use this as the beginning for his report on the Bratislava meeting. I think that was an exaggeration. Ultimately, the purpose of this unprecedented meeting was not to discuss disagreements, but to seek out common ground.

However, one should not conceal the fact that the collapse of totalitarianism in this part of the world is being accompanied by the awakening of the specter of nationalism. Vaclav Havel is right when he says that central European nationalism has its roots in the system that has existed here for years. The most vivid apparition of this ghost of the past occurred recently in Transylvania and involved Romanians and Hungarians. That disturbing Irish film of the events in Tirgu Mures was seen all round the world and gave rise to yet another argument: Was the man being beaten a Romanian or a Hungarian?....

Czechoslovakia is also grappling with the problem of its Hungarian minority. The beginning of 1989 saw the publication of "Document 33," which was commissioned by the Hungarians and analyzed the position of the Hungarian minority. There were 750,000 Hungarians living in Slovakia in 1950 whereas there are only 586,000 today. The Independent Hungarian Campaign, which wants to act as the spokesman of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia, has also drawn attention to the catastrophic state of the education system, which was destroyed by the communist regime and suffers from, among other things, a shortage of teachers. The standard of education provided to the minority is low. Experts point to the rise in national sentiments on both sides: the Hungarian and the Slovak. It is a question of defusing these conflicts.

Even before the meeting in Bratislava, Hungary's foreign minister, Gyula Horn, said that Hungarian participation in the conference would only make sense if the problem of Hungarian minorities was to feature among the main issues to be discussed. It was point number seven in Vaclav Havel's 10-point program and took the form of a

Socratic question: Are we in a position to overcome Central European nationalism and chauvinism, and are we capable of respecting people who speak a different a language and belong to a different nation? The president held a separate meeting with the Hungarian delegation.

What is currently taking place in the CSFR against the background of the debate on the republic's name is the best proof that a serious dispute is in progress in Czechoslovakia: After all, it is a question of what form the state should take and not just of the name that it should bear.

The fact that the Hungarian delegation hurried home without taking part in the news conference that was held after the Bratislava meeting is in itself telling. In politics, gestures are much more important than in other areas of life. So, it would be wrong to assume that the Hungarian delegation left just because it was short of time. The departure was also connected with the rising tide of nationalism in Slovakia. Vaclav Havel tried to play down these problems in a somewhat theatrical manner. The presidential guard, which was brought from Prague in costumes designed by Forman's set designer, cut a fine figure, but the navy blue uniforms and colored cords could not conceal the real conflicts that are gaining momentum in Czechoslovakia. There are limits to the theatricalization of life. What is happening in Czechoslovakia is a reaction against the totalitarian system of government, which for many years sought to stifle any manifestation of national aspirations. These feelings have now exploded in the form of various kinds of phobias and violent demonstrations that bear no relation whatsoever to the scale of the problem. This is something that has to be understood, but it does not mean that it should be condoned.

Deputy Complains of GDR Border Problems

LD1804144990 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1012 GMT 18 Apr 90

[Speech by Deputy Ryszard Dyrak at Sejm session in Warsaw—live relay]

[Text] I have been instructed by the Lubusz Social Democratic Union, which is part of the Social Democratic Union [USD], to make the following statement. It concerns the issue of Polish citizens traveling to the GDR.

The Lubusz USD, as an organization active in the vicinity of the state fronter, is concerned about the present situation on our western border. Since 1980 the GDR authorities, by unilateral decisions, have been restricting the rights of Poles to visit their western neighbors. The passive attitude of the Polish authorities on this issue contributes to the privileged position of GDR citizens, which is difficult to explain. This is accompanied by frequent cases of Poles being persecuted in the GDR.

We must express our firm protest against this state of affairs. We appeal to our government to take firm steps in order to reinstate the rights of Poles arising from international and bilateral agreements, as well as to reinstate equal treatment for the citizens of Poland and the GDR crossing the border.

Thank you.

Problems With Polish Tourists Viewed

AU1304200190 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 10 Apr 90 pp 1, 7

[Ryszard Malik article: "The Specter of Polish 'Tourists' "]

[Text] Poles like to travel. More and more of us are making foreign trips. Between 1985 and 1988, the number of foreign trips made by Poles increased by 30 percent. But last year, thanks to a liberal passport policy, the number of foreign trips increased by 50 percent in relation to 1988. The Polish border was crossed 37.8 million times in both directions. It is estimated that 19.3 million people went abroad.

What will this year be like? At a meeting with representatives of the Consular Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, journalists learned that Polish tourist traffic abroad has increased. Millions of Poles are able to go abroad this year thanks to the Polish authorities' unimpeded implementation of the principle of personnel exchange and thanks to the liberalization of passport policy. But, as is always the case with broad problematic issues, this openness has its advantages and disadvantages. As far as the advantages are concerned, due to the political reforms, West European countries are looking at Poland differently than they did before. Great Britain, France, and the United States have announced the relaxation of visa rules toward Poles.

In the meantime, over 60 percent of those applying for an U.S. visa leave the U.S. Embassy with a receipt in their hands.

Long lines and waiting times are normal at the British, French, Netherlands, and Belgian embassies. The embassies of the Scandinavian countries have a reluctant attitude toward our citizens. Let us recall that until martial law, Finland, Sweden, and Austria allowed Poles in without visas. Now, only Denmark has abolished visa fees and speeded up visa procedures.

Sweden and Finland do not even want to hear of lifting the visa requirement. For a long time, Austria has been considering reintroducing visas for Poles. Despite strong protests from us, it is probable that Vienna will introduce visas, said Consulare Department Director Krzysztof Szumski.

West Berlin is shocked by the influx of Poles, said Director Witold Rybczynski. Over 1 million Poles visited Berlin between 1 January and 6 April 1990. Shopkeepers and normal traders are begging the city authorities to introduce visas. Why? Because Poles are

disturbing the public order of Berlin. They are aggressive. Groups of young criminals from the voivodships of Zielona Gora and Gorzow lay bets as to who can steal the greatest quantity of goods from the shops in Berlin.

Despite all positive feelings toward the changes in Poland, even Poland's neighbors have stopped liking the Poles. Czechoslovakia would like to introduce visas for Poles. The situation at the border with the USSR and the GDR is terrible, through our own fault. Customs officers of both countries adhere very closely to customs rules and are reluctant to admit, for example, a tourist loaded with 10,000 pairs of jeans. Also aggressive for the same reason are Yugoslav, Romanian, and Bulgarian customs men. Also, not all customs men give exhaustive replies to questions about customs regulations in case these regulations are circumvented later.

Polish traders no longer encounter understanding anywhere. By means of border restrictions, the markets of Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Romania are defending themselves against Poles buying up their goods. This affects all travelers, bona fide tourists and traders alike, although bona fide tourists can be counted on the fingers of both hands. Our tourists have been brutally beaten up at many border crossing points.

These are some of the unusual misdemeanors by Polish citizens abroad that our consular services have noted. At the Medyka border crossing point into the USSR, customs men confiscated 480 television sets, several tonnes of butter, and 1,200 liters of vodka in a single day. Polish tourists returning from Nepal smuggled into India 28 kg of gold and 13 cameras. Altogether, 40 kg of gold were confiscated in India in 1989. One female tourist returning from the USSR was discovered to have 1 kg of gold hidden in her rectum. Polish tourists were also caught with drugs, even in Colombia. Some 23 Poles were caught with drugs in India. The latest news: The Austrian authorities have discovered a drug ring based in Salzburg.

What is the Consular Department and Ministry of Foreign Affairs doing to stop the plague of traders? There is not much they can do. Every citizen has a passport and can leave the country whenever he wants. However, before he goes, he could be provided with better information on the customs regulations of the country he is going to. The Consular Department is to open an information point before 1 May.

As far as Poles working abroad are concerned, no breakthrough has been achieved. Western countries are reluctant to employ Poles and if so, then only in limited quantities. However, our own approach toward this problem has changed. No longer are people being criticized for wanting to leave Poland in order to work abroad.

All in all, the picture is not a happy one. At a time when citizens of Hungary and Czechoslovakia no longer require visas to, for example, Austria and Italy, attempts are being made to deprive us of the privileges we won previously. Despite previous expectations, the ministers of the "12" who recently met in Luxembourg did not decide to lift visa requirements for the citizens of Central and East European countries. They merely adopted a preliminary resolution about abolishing visas in the nearest future, but in the following order: Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland. One fears that thanks to the pseudo-tourists, all the warm feelings toward Poland, a country that started the bloodless revolution in the former socialist bloc, will quickly turn to animosity.

Roman on Official Visit to Spain

Views Prospects for Cooperation

AU1704134190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1258 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Madrid (ROMPRES) 17/4/1990—Spain is to become from many points of view a potential preferential partner to Romania, stated Premier Petre Roman to a ROMPRES envoy in Madrid. First of all there is a similarity in the course to democracy from dictatorship. Spain has an interesting experience in the economic reform and structural change and is today one of the most prosperous European countries.

There are domains for preferential collaboration in which Spain was remarkably successful as, for example tourism, which holds an extraordinary potential in Romania as well.

At the same time Spain is a country with interesting achievements in the machine and shipbuilding industries, the light industry and in agriculture.

We consider cooperation in all these sectors can and should be achieved in the mutual interest.

Certainly the Spanish people show regard to Romania, to the Romanian people. Some social organizations, industrial and financial groups are ready to start cooperation. And we want to meet them all halfway, make them substantive and place them in an incomparably larger framework than the one we now have, said in conclusion Premier Roman.

Meets Spanish King, Gonzalez

AU1704182190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1728 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Madrid, (ROMPRES), 17/4/1990—Premier Petre Roman, now on an official visit in Spain, was received by King Juan Carlos. During the interview, they discussed aspects of the Spanish-Romanian relations and prospects of the May 20 elections in Romania.

Romanain Prime Minister Petre Roman who is visiting Madrid held talks on 17 April at Moncloa Palace with the Spanish prime minister, Felipe Gonzalez. Their two-hour meeting covered the possible re-launching of the bilateral ties, Spain's possibility to give long-term credits to Romania and the situation in Romania before the elections set for 20 May. A second official meeting of the two prime ministers is scheduled for Wednesday afternoon.

State Heads Discuss Democratic Processes

AU1704200690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1850 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Madrid, (ROMPRES), 17/4/1990—Romania's Prime Minister Petre Roman, on an official visit in Spain, had a first round of talks, Tuesday 17 April at Madrid's Moncloa Palace, with the Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez. For two hours the two heads of government discussed the democratic processes in Romania after the December 1989 revolution and the prospects of cooperation between the two countries.

The first day of Premier Roman's visit was markedly economic in character: He met representatives of the Spanish Confederation of Employers' Organizations and of the National Institute for Industry with whom he discussed specific aspects of the bilateral cooperation in various areas.

In a meeting with the press, Premier Roman said there were good prospects for an in-depth bilateral relationship after December's revolution in Romania. Petre Roman said he was optimistic about the prospects of the bilateral relationship, especially in industry, agriculture, tourism, protection of the environment and culture, showing the strengthening of the bilateral ties to be the main aim of the visit, adding to which was the wish that Spain supported the democratization process in Romania.

The same day Romania's Prime Minister was received by the King of Spain, Juan Carlos, and Queen Sofia at the Zarzuela Palace. Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez was in attendance. The Spanish Monarch gave a lunch in honour of the Romanian guest.

Statements on Cooperation

AU1704205890 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1925 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Interview with Premier Petre Roman by unidentified reporter in Madrid; date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] How do you view the future of Romanian-Spanish relations after the revolution and in light of the meetings and talks that you had today in Spain, in Madrid, with Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez, with King Juan Carlos, and the other Spanish officials?

[Roman] At the moment, things seem very encouraging and very promising. We were received with great sympathy and our hosts expressed feelings of closeness and affection for the Romanian people. They also expressed confidence that the Romanian democratic process is on the path leading Romania toward the group of European civilized countries, toward European countries that changed themselves in the past, and they valued the democratic transformations in Europe and the general development on the social, economic, and political area. We have already achieved a number of important contacts in the cultural and economic areas, both during my meeting with Prime Minister Felipe Gonzales and with their Royal Majesties. They expressed Spain's resolution to make use of the possibilities that opened up in Romania for cooperation and for review of the Romanian-Spanish relations in the economic and cultural areas.

As far as my meeting with a number of personalities, with the most important representatives of the Spanish Employers Confederation is concerned, we discussed concrete aspects and ways for cooperation in the economic areas for which there is evidently joint interest such as tourism, the agricultural-foodstuffs sector, as well as other areas, which Spanish industrialists and entrepreneurs can identify in Romania on the spot.

The next step is to define the framework in which this cooperation can be carried out, together with the people who accompany me on this visit, tomorrow, during the meeting that we will have with Prime Minister Felipe Gonzales, together with the whole delegation. I am convinced that we will have the opportunity to finalize certain drafts and future prospects and probably some concrete accords.

Further Reportage

WA1704133090

For reportage on the visit by Prime Minister Petre Roman to Spain, including reports on his talks with government and trade officials, see the Spain section of the 17 April West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

New Border Crossing to Bulgaria To Open

AU1704111690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0734 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 17/4/1990—Another border crossing point to Bulgaria is to be open at Oltenita, Calarasi County, on April 25. Preparations are under way for the proper and civilized functioning of customs service. Cooperation is under way for a new ferryboat which is to cross the Danube from Oltenita to Turtukaya and back to Oltenita. The new border point will be open in the beginning for small traffic only.

Japan Businessman Visit Opens Way for Cooperation

AU1704182490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1733 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 17/4/1990—Small and medium industry make the vital source of post-war economic development in Japan, stated Mr. Morimasa Taniguchi, director of the Small and Medium Enterprises Organization of Japan, lecturing on April 17 on the sources of vitality of the Japanese economy and society—the current condition and the tasks of small and medium industry in Japan.

The guest, who came to Romania at the initiative of the Japanese Foreign Ministry also spoke of the TU organization in such enterprises.

Japan's Ambassador Katsuhiro Ichioka stressed that Mr. Taniguchi's presence in Bucharest was the first action of the kind in support of the Romanian economy's recovery and of opening after the revolution the ways of bilateral economic cooperation.

Romanian Envoy to UN Presents Credentials

AU1704112690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1047 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] United Nations (ROMPRES) 17/4/1990—Aurel Dragos Munteanu presented his letters of credence as Romania's permanent representative at the United Nations to Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, UN secretary-general. On the occasion, Mr. Aurel Dragos Munteanu expressed on behalf of Mr. Ion Iliescu, president of the Provisional National Union Council, and of the Romanian Government, Romania's attachment to the UN principles and goals.

Ambassador Aurel Dragos Munteanu is also Romania's representative in the Security Council where Romania is a non-permanent member for a mandate of two years starting January 1, 1990.

PNUC Executive Bureau Discusses Draft Laws

AU1704151990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1438 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 17/4/1990—The Executive Bureau of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] met in session in the afternoon of 17 April in Bucharest. Several draft decrees-laws are on its agenda: the creation of the "liberty fund", measures concerning the Greek-Catholic Church, the settlement of collective labour conflicts and the exercise of the right to strike, regulating the rights of civil air traffic controllers; amendment to an earlier law on the organization of labour and labour discipline in state units; the legal status of the property of the former communist youth organization; the organization and autonomous functioning of Romania's Union of Architects and its local branches, amendment to a decree concerning pensions and other social security benefits of lawyers and certain pension rises for this profession; the organization and functioning of the Ministry of Geology; and of the scientific and technical information and documentation activities.

A draft decree will also be discussed on pardoning certain freedom-deprivation offences.

Endorses Decree-Laws

AU1704182290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1731 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 17/4/1990—Of the package of draft decree-laws debated in the first part of the PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council] Executive Bureau session, the following were endorsed: on instituting "The Liberty Fund", measures referring to the Greek-Catholic cult, on regulating the rights of civil

air traffic controllers and on amending an earlier law on labour organization and labour discipline in state units.

With some amendments was also endorsed the draft decree-law regarding the settlement of collective labour conflicts and the exercise of the right to strike. Although generating larger debates, the draft decree-law was endorsed, being considered a means of stabilization in Romania's current situation. One of its articles forbids the political strike. The text stipulating that a strike should have a professional character and may not pursue political interests is justified by the existence of the vote as a way of settling political issues.

The PNUC Executive Bureau saw during its proceedings the new uniforms of the Ministry of the Interior staff. The designers drew inspiration from the traditional uniforms of the Romanian Army and Police while changing the rank insignia. Some elements were borrowed from the Swiss and French Police uniforms.

The deadline for advancing the candidatures for the Assembly of Deputies, the Senate and Romania's presidency has been extended by April 22, 1990. The decision was made in the April 17 meeting of the PNUC Executive Bureau.

Next Meeting Set for 24 Apr

AU1704200890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1852 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 17/4/1990—PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council] Executive Bureau adopted in its Tuesday meeting all the other draft decrees-laws and bills on the agenda with the exception of the one concerning the legal status of the property of the ex-communist youth organization, which was postponed to allow more time for an extensive documentation.

A decree dated back to 1973 was abrogated on the similar structure of research and designing institutes.

The Executive Bureau set the date of the next PNUC session for Tuesday 24 April.

Liberal Party Proposes Monarchy as 'Alternative'

AU1704152090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1434 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 17/4/1990—The Liberal Party of Romania fully disagrees with the demonstration staged on the second day of Easter by the "Anti-Monarchic League" whose lawfulness it continues to question.

The party says in a statement sent to ROMPRES that it did not organise any demonstration nor did it take part in the counter-demonstration in Bucharest on 16 April, when incidents were spontaneously caused by indignant passers-by, the statement says.

The document reminds that the Liberal Party of Romania's programme makes clear that the nation alone can decide the form of government in a referendum and that it accepts a constitutional monarchy as an alternative to either a parliamentary or a presidential republic.

Poll Shows NSF Still Leading in Campaign

AU1704162190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1435 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 17/4/1990—The second pre-election opinion poll taken by the Romanian Public Opinion Poll Institute discloses a marked stability of public options.

The National Salvation Front with 56.1 percent of the vote continues to hold the lead, followed by the National Liberal Party with 15.7 percent, the National Christian-Democratic Peasant Party 5 percent, the Ecological Movement 4.5 percent, the remaining 65 or so parties making up 4.2 percent.

The greater part of the electorate appears to have clear political preferences: only 9.7 percent of the electorate is undecided.

All signs speak of an about 87 percent participation in the vote: only four percent of the electors say they will not cast their votes, with nine percent undecided yet.

The poll also shows a steadily high rate of confidence in the 14 listed public personalities: Ion Iliescu and Petre Roman share the first place with 7.5 points from a total of ten points, followed by Sergiu Celac (6.1), Victor Stanculescu (5.9), Ion Caramitru (5.5), Gelu Voican (4.9), Mihai Chitac (4.6), Radu Campeanu and Toma George Maiorescu (4.5), Cazimir Ionescu (4.2), Ion Manzatu (3.9), Sergiu Cunescu (3.0), Karol Kiraly (2.6), Corneliu Coposu (2.1).

Magyars Protest Low-Flying Helicopter Flights

LD1804102390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0430 GMT 18 Apr 90

[text] The Gheorghian branch of the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ] has sent a telegram of protest to President Iliescu because during the Easter holidays low flying helicopters disturbed the peace of residents. Protests to Bucharest have been sent from other Magyar-populated cities in Transylvania, too.

The National Defense Ministry has explained the helicoper flights as training missions. They also said that the traffic on public roads was controlled from the air during Easter.

However, in the view of observers, the fact that the helicopters were circling only in the airspace of ethnic Hungarian-populated areas indicates an action directed from a senior level.

Appeal to West To Correct Image of Romanians

AU1804085190 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 11 Apr 90 p 1

[Ilie Paunescu article: "For the Attention of Foreign Press Correspondents"]

[Text] We remind our colleagues in the international press of a question dealing with professional ethics.

During the bloody incidents in Tirgu Mures in March, a Western television crew filmed a violent scene that is hard to forget: A man was attacked by a pack of aggressors, was thrown to the ground and continuously beaten wildly, even after he had stopped showing any signs of life.

The clip was broadcast and rebroadcast by all major television stations in the world for days on end, sometimes under the headline "The Pogrom in Romania," with the explanation that the victim of the violent attack was one of the Hungarians who were massacred by Romanians. The picture of the prostrate victim surrounded by hooligans was also published in various major newspapers in Europe and America. This was the most convincing visual proof of taking sides; namely, of showing the Romanians as a nation of bloody barbarians cable of the most revolting excesses against the Hungarian minority.

Three days after this incident, the Romanian press carried the first clarification: The victim was Mihai Cofaru, a Greek-Orthodox Romanian peasant from the village of Ibanesti. He was and still is in very serious condition in a Bucharest hospital. Even if he survives, he will be handicapped for life.

We expect the Western media to hasten to broadcast this information and to show the same insistence they did when they characterized the Romanian people in an insulting manner. Now they should insist on correcting their first reports. It is true that some facts have been corrected in the corners of the pages of certain newspaper, and that clarifications have been broadcast, among other things, by two or three television stations. They just passed unnoticed by the readers and viewers. The first image, of the barbarian Romanians, persists in Western public opinion.

Is there nothing the journalists who helped to create and imprint this image in people's minds can do to correct it?

We are one of the nations to whom the West owes absolute objectivity. After we had been delivered to Stalin at the end of a war fought in the name of the Atlantic Charter, we continued to be hit for decades on end by that category of journalists, writers, philosophers, and others in the West who preferred to serve the communist oppression instead of the truth. For almost 50 years, all the criminals who exploited, tortured, and killed us, starting from Stalin and ending with Ceausescu, found themselves numerous aggressive and eloquent supporters who were prepared to hold us to blame and glorify the tyrants in all the languages of the West.

It is high time that, at least now, they told the truth about us. One nation is not better or worse than another. It is inconceivable that today, after the frightening experience of World War II, people still resort to stories that originate in the doctrines about inferior races. The Romanians are not the primitive, bloodthirsty people the world press has presented it to be in the past two or three weeks. It is high time the Western media reestablished the truth, with the same diligence with which it spread such unfounded information and images about us.

We are grateful, in anticipation, to those foreign colleagues of ours who can hear us.

Four New Publications Issued

AU1704142590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1237 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 17/4/1990—The first issue of SATRA LIBERA (FREE GIPSY CAMP) has come out in Romani and Romanian, a "paper of the Romanian Roms' social rebirth". The editor of this issue, Gheorghe Paun Ialomiteanu, opens it with the slogan "if there is no love, there is nothing", a final statement in great Writer Marin Preda's last novel "Cel Mai Iubit Dintre Pamînteni" (The Most Beloved of All Humans).

The newspaper, small-sized, calls on "all the Romani brothers to give their hands to one another" and show everybody "we are a wise nation here, in Romania, among the minorities".

The publication, the honorary president of which is Ion Cioaba, leader of the nomadic coppersmith Gipsies, also inserts "confessions" focussing on the idea that "the Gipsies are not a problem of the police but a social and economic one", an article on the Romani fiddlers' songs as an expression of their revolt against the dictatorship as well as "dark-skinned" humour.

PARALELA 45 (PARALLEL 45) is another title of the Republican Party's publication on a national level.

Headlined "Not People for a Party but a Party for People", the editorial of this weekly put out in Ploiesti explains that the Republican Party was set up considering that "man is the measure for all things and only a society without dogmas can provide conditions for expression of all the intellectual valences of an individual".

ALIANTA (ALLIANCE) is another weekly "of political opinion" which publishes the programme platform of the "Alliance for Democracy" Party. Its editorial highlights that the publication intends to be a "Tribune of

Active Consensus Which Should Promote Convergencies", backed by the quality of idea, the competence of opinion and sensitiveness to the population's state of mind.

An article contributed by Professor Adam Popescu, party president, considers the recalling of Patriarch Teoctist as an act of wisdom and dignity. The weekly also opens a series of articles under the heading "The Right Wing a Vocation of the Peasant Party's Advocation", and prints Writer Dan Zamfirescu's reflections, viewing the events in Transylvania as a trap to the Romanians marginalized in their own country".

ROMANUL (THE ROMANIAN) is another weekly proclaiming itself "independent, of free information and opinion".

Its first issue opens with a feature report from "The Trenches of the Drama" titled "Transylvania Kneeled Hope". A commentary underlines that "The Signs of the Political Present Seem to Encourage the Marginalization" of the working class which accounts for 60 per cent of the population.

The weekly inaugurateds a series of articles trying to clear up wheather there was a plot of generals against the dictatorship.

The newspaper also publishes excerpts from the hesitants' programme platform, a party whose statute is based on the theory of probabilities and whose position of principle is supposition.

Statistics on Metallurgical Industry Production

AU1704134390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1253 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 17/4/1990—Though quite deprived of specific raw materials and with a rather permanent deficit in electric power, Romania became the fifth producer in the world considering the quantity of steel per inhabitant, outdoing countries like the United Kingdom, Canada, the USSR and the USA.

According to the data supplied by the Central Statistics Commission, metallurgy consumes over 20 percent of the power resources meant for industry, turning out only 9.8 percent of the industrial production. Great investment efforts were made for the building of "giants" especially in the metallurgical industry which is based, to a great extent, on foreign raw materials. The demands for iron ore were met by import almost to the full, while for bauxite in a proportion of about three quarters.

The metallurgical units were low-efficient, the production losses owing to a failure in attaining the planned parameters summing up to more than 30 billion lei in 1989. Now, 15 units do not work at the planned capacity, though more than three years have passed since they were commissioned.

ROMPRES Reports Increased Meat Supply

AU1704182390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1632 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 17/4/1990—Meat and meat preparations during the first quarter of this year were supplied to the home market in quantities that were 18 percent larger than planned, a 31 percent rise on last year: the figures were 72,000 tonnes of fresh meat, 79,000 tonnes of meat preparations, 9,000 canned meat, adding to which were 100,000 tonnes of imported meat. Fresh dairy products were also 28 percent more than planned, a 50 percent increase from last year. Cheese was supplied in 27 percent larger than planned quantities, a 46 percent increase from last year. Rice, sugar and eggs were also delivered in significantly larger quantities during the first quarter.

However, edible oil, flour, ocean fish and fresh vegetable supplied to the population were less than planned for the first quarter of the year.

It should be said that during the same span of time imports were made—9,000 tonnes of butter, 140 million eggs, 33,000 tonnes of rice, 35,000 tonnes of citruses.

Demos Discusses New Slovene Government

LD1704223690

[Editorial Report] Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene at 2000 GMT on 17 April carries a report on the Slovene parliamentary elections. The report notes that presidential candidates Milan Kucan and Dr. Joze Pucnik are continuing their electoral activity. Milan Kucan was in Maribor and in Slovene Carinthia. Dr. Pucnik was campaigning in Novo Mesto and later attended a roundtable conference of the parties affiliated in Demos in Radovljica municipality.

The report further notes that "Demos Presidency has discussed electoral activity and some issues concerning the formation of the new government will be given to Slovene Christian Democrats."

Further on Slovene Chamber Elections

LD1704174390 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1700 GMT 16 Apr 90

[Summary From Poor Reception] The Slovene Republican Electoral Commission today discussed the election results for the Sociopolitical Chamber of the Slovene Assembly. Seventy-eight names of the deputies who will sit in this chamber are known, while the two representatives of both nationalities [Italian and Hungarian] will be elected in the second round of the election on 22 April.

The seats are distributed as follows: League of Communists of Slovenia-the Party of Democratic Renewal [ZKS-Stranka Demokraticne Prenove] has 14 mandates; Federation of Slovene Socialist Youth-Liberal Party [ZSMS-Liberalna Stranka] has 12 mandates; Slovene Christian Democrats [Slovenski Krcanski Demokrati] have 11 mandates, which is also the number of seats to be held by Slovene Peasant Farmer Alliance [Slovenska Kmecka Zvezal]; the Slovene Greens [Zeleni Slovenije] and Slovene Democratic Alliance [Slovenska Demokraticna Zveza] obtained eight seats each; the Socialist Alliance [Socialisticna Zveza] has five seats; the Socio-Democratic Alliance [Social-Demokratska Zveza] [words indistinct] and the Slovene Artisans' Party [Slovenska Obrtniska Stranka] have three delegates. This means Democrats will have 47 mandates in this chamber.

Church Involvement in Elections Criticized

LD1704185790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1634 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 17 Apr (TANJUG)—Jozef Skolc, president of the Republican Conference of the ZSMS-Liberal Party, sent an open letter to Ljubljana Archbishop Alojzij Sustar, expressing "concern over a new and different style of church participation in social and political events in Slovenia during the preelection campaign."

Jozsef Skoljc stresses, among other things, that "the church's direct political and election campaigning for certain parties and candidates (distribution of pamphlets and the like), that is, its daily political taking of sides, only inflicts damage on the church itself. Such an attitude, Skoljc believes, "puts the church in the position of a prominent political factor that calls on youth organizations and its members, among them believers too, to rethink their attitude toward the church and its activity."

FEC Proposes Ending Kosovo State of Emergency

LD1704170690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1632 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Apr (TANJUG)—At sessions held on 12 and 16 April 1990, the FEC [Federal Executive Council] examined the political situation in the country in the context of the latest events.

After an exhaustive discussion, the FEC adopted the platform for the activity of the FEC and its bodies and institutions in conditions of a multiparty political system.

In accordance with this, the FEC decided to begin the depoliticization of the federal administration's offices and institutions.

On the basis of its appraisal of the situation, the FEC decided to propose to the SFRY Presidency that the state of emergency in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo be ended and a process of consolidation of the situation on democratic bases begin.

In this regard, the FEC has asked its bodies to carry out the necessary communications with the Assembly Executive Council and the Serbian Assembly Executive Council.

FEC Asked About Attacks on Albanian Shops

LD1804123890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0912 GMT 18 Apr 90

[Text] Belgrade, 18 April (TANJUG)—During the session of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces of the Yugoslav Assembly today, Delegate Gani Miftari, quoting press reports, said there have been occasions in Montenegro recently when artisan shops owned by citizens who are of Albanian nationality were attacked.

Miftari asked the Federal Executive Council about the number of shops damaged so far and what measures had been taken against the perpetrators.

National Accord Coalition Schedules Rally

LD1704131190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1116 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] [dateline indistinct] (TANJUG)—The Coalition of National Accord [koalicija nacionalnog sporazuma] has announced the final preelection rally on 18 April at Republic Square in Zagreb. At today's news conference, the coalition representatives stressed that nonparty figures and coalition leaders will speak at the rally. They also said that no additional program was planned.

Since the Centar Municipal Assembly Executive Council, where Republic Square is located, banned political preelection rallies at the square, coalition representatives expressed the view that there are no grounds for the ban because the republican constitutional amendments, adopted in mid-February this year, stress "the freedom of rally and other public gatherings." [passage indistinct]

Asked by journalists why, despite the ban, they insist on holding a rally on Republic Square, the coalition representatives stressed that "they are obliged to do this also because the Croat spring of 1971 was practically and violently ended at Republic Square." Besides, they said that citizens of Zagreb and Croatia have expressed their political will on many occasions and under many political regimes at the area occupied by today's square, so the coalition wants to see that the tradition is not aborted now when democracy is established.

Officials Ban Rally

LD1704190790 Zagreb Domestic Service in Croat 1700 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] The public rally of the Coalition of National Accord [Koalicija Narodnog Sporazuma, KNS] planned for 1800 [1600 GMT] on 18 April in Republic Square in Zagreb has been banned. According to information we have just received from the Zagreb city Secretariat for Internal Affairs, the decision on the ban on the rally was made, the statement says, on the basis of Article 9, Paragraph 4, of the Law on Public Meetings. The decision was made, the statement continues, taking into consideration the location and character of the public meeting and the fact that the participation of a large number of citizens was expected at the rally and that at public meetings held previously on Republic Square there were disturbances of public order and peace, threats to people's security, damage to property, and disruption of public transport. Besides this, other parties that have also sought to hold similar meetings on Republic Square were similarly not given permission. There are also grounds to expect that at this meeting there would be disruption of public order and peace and a danger to the basic security of people and property. Taking into consideration all these facts and reasons, the Zagreb Secretariat for Internal Affairs has decided to ban the meeting.

The statement also stresses that the Zagreb Secretariat for Internal Affairs is unable to guarantee peace and order in time for the meeting and this consideration also means that the conditions exist for a ban on the public rally of the KNS. The statement also notes the election headquarters of the coalition only notified the Zagreb Secretariat for Internal Affairs on 16 April, that is, two days ago, of the public rally to be held on 18 April at 1800 hours.

Rally Date, Location Changed

LD1804124790 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 18 Apr 90

[Text] The Coalition of National Accord [Koalicija Narodnog Sporazuma] will now hold its central rally at Kaptol in Zagreb at 1630 on 20 April after the Zagreb city Internal Affairs Secretariat banned a rally planned for today at 1800 at Republic Square.

In response to unfortunate circumstances surrounding the coalition's central rally, its joint committee will hold a news conference on 19 April in the party's headquarters in Savska Street at 1000. The coalition will be represented by Dragutin Haramija, Srecko Bijelik, and Slavko Goldstein.

Croatian Electoral Commission Expanded

LD1704151190 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Starting today, the republic's electoral commission will be expanded by representatives of the parties that have proposed candidates for deputies in the Croatian Assembly's Sociopolitical Chamber in at least half of the constituencies. Four parties have fulfilled this legal requirement: The Croatian Democratic Community [Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica], the Coalition of National Accord [Koalicija Narodnog Sporazuma], the Croatian League of Communists-Party of Democratic Changes [Savez Komunista Hrvatske-Stranka Demokratskih Promjena], and the Croatian Socialist Alliance [Savez Socijalista Hrvatske].

The following have been appointed electoral commission members: (?Kresimir Areric) and his deputy, Vlado Cvrljak, from the Croatian Democratic Community; Vladimir Primorac and his deputy, Nikica Valentic, from the Coalition of National Accord; Ivan Matija and his deputy, Zvonimir Vrbanac, from the Croatian League of Communists-Party of Democratic Changes; and Ivan Starcevic and Milovan Sojic as his deputy, from the Croation Socialist Alliance.

Electoral commission members discussed preparations for Assembly elections, due to take place on 22 and 23 April, today with the municipal electoral commission chairmen.

2 Election Candidates Present Views

LD1704172490

[Editorial Report] Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1505 GMT on 17 April introduces two candidates of the Socialist Alliance-Alliance of Socialists, Ljubomir Vajc, candidate for the Sociopolitical Chamber, and Miroslav Kirincic, candidate for the Chamber of Associated Labor. Vajc gives the number of Socialist Alliance candidates and profiles them. The Socialist Alliance has always been and will continue to be interested in helping citizens with their everyday problems, he says. The candidates stress the need for fair play in the preelection race, and explain why they decided to run in the elections. They expresss their conviction that the Alliance of Socialists will win, if not these elections, then certainly the next ones, and call on women to vote for them.

Croatia's Racan Begins Election Campaign

LD1704220190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2112 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Osijek, April 17 (TANJUG)—As far as we are concerned Yugoslavia is not a necessary evil, but our chance, our political and economic interest, Ivica Racan, Croatian League of Communists-Party of Democratic Reform leader, stated this evening in a pre-election meeting attended by some 15,000 people.

Racan also said that his party does not uphold any Yugoslavia, it wants a federal, democratic community of equal and sovereign peoples and republics.

Referring to pre-election meetings of nationalist Croatian parties, Racan called on the electorate not to vote for those who are allegedly opening borders to the European West, but are actually lining up nationalist army against the Slav East. He asked the people if they wanted to spend the coming years of their life in a state of siege, amidst riots and unrest in Croatia and Yugoslavia, fighting over borders and divisions, passports and visas.

Racan said that today the choice is being made between the past and the future, between the threats and democracy.

Tudjman's Rally in Istria Called 'Farce'

AU1804081290 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Apr 90 p 4

[Z. Tarle report: "History With Dark Glasses"]

[Excerpts] Pazin—Dr. Franjo Tudjman will long remember the preelection rally in Pazin. This is the only rally at which the Croats themselves booed him. All attempts by Dr. Tudjman to flatter the Istrians with his national program failed. There were some 1,000 people divided into three groups: One group consisted of silent observers, another group booed and protested, and the third group cheered Tudjman. The third group, according to the statements made by the inhabitants of Pazin, was not from Pazin, not even from Istria, but came mainly from Zagreb in about 30 cars.

That Dr. Tudjman and his ideas are not supported in Istria had been known before. This is, in fact, a region that has for centuries been populated by Serbs, Croats, Italians, and 20 other nationalities who, instead of expressing nationalist euphoria, are turning toward togetherness and concern for their livelihoods. [passage omitted]

If Dr. Tudjman was booed down, his religious ideologist Mr. Ante Bakovic was literally laughed at. Every one of his words, especially the Easter greetings to good Croats who have more than two children, was met with laughter. His ignorance of the history of Istria and the Istrians themselves provoked heckling. In brief, this rally turned into a political farce. [passage omitted]

Poll on Elections in Croatia

AU1704154590

[Editorial Report] Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian on 13 April on page 1 carries a 500-word report by M. Dugandzija on the results of a public opinion poll conducted by the Zagreb Institute for Social Research on behalf of the Center for Ideological-Theoretical Work of the League of Communists of Croatia, under the title "The Undecided Will Determine the Outcome of Elections in the Socialist Republic of Croatia."

In fact, the Institute for Social Research carried out two polls. "The first poll was based on a sample of 600 people from Zagreb who were asked questions orally. The subjects were selected proportionately according to age, sex, and education. The other sample is made up of 1,035 telephone subscribers from all over Croatia (among them there were 321 citizens of Zagreb) who were selected proportionately according to the number of subscribers in different places. Both samples are sufficiently representative that one can say with 95 percent certainty what citizens of Zagreb and telephone subscribers of Croatia think."

Subjects were asked several questions concerning upcoming elections in Croatia and their answers are summarized within the text of the report. According to the report, 83 percent of Croatia's citizens said that they will vote. The answers to the question "Which Party Will You Vote For?" are presented in bar chart as follows:

"Which Party Will You Vote For?—a question from the poll of telephone subscribers of the Socialist Republic of Croatia" (in percentages)

1. LCC [former League of Communists of Croatia]—Party of Democratic Renewal	27
2. Coalition	13
3. Croatian Bloc	17
4. Greens	3
5. Other	1
6. Do not know	31
7. No answer	2
8. Will not vote	6

Coalition's Tripalo Discusses Elections

AU1804092090 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 8 Apr 90 p 9

[Interview with Coalition of National Understanding member Miko Tripalo by Mladen Plese and Zoran Daskalovic; place and date not given: "We Are Against Any Totalitarianism"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [VJESNIK] What were your personal motives in coming into the middle of political events in Croatia again, after so many years?

[Tripalo] It seemed to me that this is a crucial moment in the social development in our country and in the world and that one should not allow our country to be left behind. It is time we caught that train for Europe, so to speak, and did so not only in the sense of economic integration but also in the sense of joining European civilization. This involves understanding democracy in an essentially different way than the one we had, which was based on a doctrine that was ruling until yesterday. Although I know that taking part in politics is by no means a gentle and comfortable activity, I think that I and my associates from 1971 still enjoy some respect in the public and among the people and that we, therefore, have to make some contribution to these changes. This was my basic reason for resuming my role in politics. On the other hand, it seemed to me that it was my duty; if for no other reason, then it was because I felt I owed this to tens of thousands of people who suffered in the purges that came in the wake of 1971 and because an entire people was silenced then. It is also my duty to express my own views and what I consider to be the right assessment of the events that shook Croatia and Yugoslavia then and that, in a way, made this crisis so grave. [passage omitted]

[VJESNIK] Is it possible that, thanks to your political charisma and the standing of other nonparty members, you help parties in the coalition to receive more votes than they would have received without you, but that you then would be pushed aside and away from the center of political events?

[Tripalo] Anything can happen in politics. I am certain that all parties of the coalition will receive a considerably larger number of votes because we are with them. It is not so important what will happen later, but the mood of the people will certainly play some role even after the elections, and I do not believe that anyone would want to lose the people's confidence.

The Media Ignore the Coalition

[VJESNIK] Most parties are trying to convince voters that they are parties of the center. In your opinion, where is the Coalition of National Understanding?

[Tripalo] The coalition is a group of the center in which some parties are a little to the right and some a little to the left of center. As you know, the programs of parties in the coalition are not the same in every respect. We have agreed upon a program and we will campaign in the elections with it. However, every party has its own views on many issues, which puts some of them a little to the left of the center and others a little to the right.

[VJESNIK] You have presented the coalition as the continuation of the "Croatian Spring" of 1971, albeit under new conditions, with new ideas, and new, younger, and better people. Now, after the names of the people who support the coalition and of the candidates for the Croatian Assembly have been made known, one can see that there are not too many of these younger people among them. How would you explain that?

[Tripalo] First of all, I would differentiate between the signatories of the coalition's election statement, who include the most famous people in the fields of science and art in Croatia, and the candidates themselves. Many of the candidates are not very well known to the public, except in their own communities. After all, the system was such that it did not enable people to prove themselves. The future will show how far it was justified to put these particular people on the lists. [passage omitted]

[VJESNIK] Your name is not on the list of candidates for the Croatian Assembly. Will you run for the post of Presidency member, its president, or SFRY Presidency member?

[Tripalo] Yes, not one of us has become a candidate. However, I suppose that somebody will run for one of the highest offices in the republic or the federation. The coalition's Common Committee will decide who will run for which office.

[VJESNIK] The parties' programs are quite similar. What will, in fact, be decisive in the elections?

[Tripalo] The newly formed parties are handicapped by the fact that they are participating in the election campaign and at the same time are creating their organizations in the field. Doing the two things at the same time is very difficult, particularly when one lacks one's own rooms, financial resources, propaganda, and the like. This is why our candidates' lists, particularly the ones for communal assemblies, could not be completed. It happens very often that in some regions people attend the meetings of many different parties and only then start thinking which one they will join and for which one they will vote. I am convinced that there are people who are members of one party at the moment who will not vote for that party, but for some other one. A very important role will be played by people on the candidacy lists, people known in these local communities as knowledgeable, diligent, and as particularly honest people one will be able to trust.

[VJESNIK] What do you think about the behavior of the information media—the press, radio, and television—in the election campaign so far?

[Tripalo] To deny that there is huge progress would be unfair. The media have become more open. However, I have an impression that the coverage of the coalition is somehow the worst. We are least satisfied with the television, because it mostly propagandizes the ruling party and the Croatian Democratic Community, even if it speaks about the ruling party positively and about the Croatian Democratic Community negatively. I think that this is not incidental. The very picture that television carries represents a kind of propaganda. Reports on our meetings are shorter and include only some of the people speaking and only two or three probably unimportant sentences. I think that it would be more important to show the mood of the audience, and that is shown in the cases of the League of Communists of Croatia and the Croatian Democratic Community, but not in our case. For example, I visited Slavonska Pozega, Krizevci,

and Donji Miholjec recently, and they have not carried a single piece of news, let alone an audio or video report. And the meeting in Slavonska Pozega was magnificent. This is how one creates the impression in the public that the coalition has no campaign, or at least that its campaign is unsuccessful. The visit Savka [Dabcevic-Kucar] paid to Istria and Dalmatia received similar treatment. [passage omitted]

[VJESNIK] There is considerable fear among some people that the elections could be followed by fierce political clashes, revanchism, and revenge.

[Tripalo] You saw that we are doing our utmost so that nobody is discredited or discriminated against because of his former or current membership in some political organization or ideological school. This guarantee should remove the fear felt by some sections of the population. [passage omitted]

[VJESNIK] Dr. Franjo Tudjman claims that the Croatian Democratic Community wanted to join the coalition, but considering that this was conditioned with the abandonment of the party's identity, the Croatian Democratic Community gave up the idea. Is this correct?

[Tripalo] This is yet another of the increasingly frequent tricks played by Tudjman. The parties that initiated the coalition's founding proposed to the Croatian Democratic Community entering the first round of elections with a joint program and joint candidates. I assume that they thought that they could run on their own because they were better organized and have huge funds. However, what everybody is now confused about is the statement made by Tudjman in Imotski, according to which the Croatian Democratic Community did not join the coalition because of some compromised persons who are its members. This does not seem to bother him in forming new coalitions with dissidents and those who want to break up other opposition parties. On various occasions at home and abroad, Tudjman said that he will not cooperate with the "politically dead people," with the aged, and with ex-Communists, all of which, of course, he is not. [passage omitted]

[VJESNIK] How does the coalition view the danger of Croatia being turned into a Kosovo?

[Tripalo] Of course, this danger is increasingly visible. I hope that it will not happen. The export of Slobodan Milosevic's anti-bureaucratic revolution is one of the main instruments for aggravating the situation in Croatia. The purpose of this is not only to realize great Serbian aims, but also to destabilize Croatia, which, together with Slovenia, currently represents the germ of a democratic option. Milosevic is preventing Serbia from taking part in this democratic transformation. I do not believe that the efforts of the anti-bureaucratic revolution advocates could tip the scales. On the contrary, I believe that the multiparty system that we strive for will win. [passage omitted]

[VJESNIK] If relations in Yugoslavia become more strained, especially if political and territorial aspirations toward Croatia escalate, the national homogenization and even the creation of a single-party bloc would really be inevitable.

[Tripalo] Absolutely. I am convinced that if such a tendency is to significantly destabilize Croatia and threaten its sovereignty, all parties, regardless of their programs, would unite to defend this sovereignty. In my view, this would not be of a great service to democratic processes in Croatia, but if something is necessary, it must be done.

[VJESNIK] Can you envision Croatia as an independent state?

[Tripalo] You know that we said that we are neither for or against Yugoslavia at any cost. We need to reach an agreement that would be based on the right to self-determination, including secession, on the original sovereignty that would be effected in the republic on the completely clarified and precisely determined relations in a multinational community. If in addition to this, the democratic option won throughout the country, the option that would be based on the multiparty parliamentary democracy and the market economy, as well as on various forms of ownership, then I think that these would constitute the foundations for conducting talks.

[VJESNIK] Some people are warning that Yugoslavia's transformation into a confederation would also mean clarifying the question of inter-republican borders, even their redrawing, something that could lead to tragic consequences.

[Tripalo] We have been saying right from the beginning that we are against changes in the republican, as well as Yugoslavia's, borders, which is, after all, in the spirit of the Helsinki Declaration. I do not understand the claims that the present borders are administrative, because they are the republican interstate borders. Besides, a confederation assumes an even greater independence of states and therefore their right to the existing borders. If the wish to discuss the borders is expressed, nobody should be able to prevent it. However, I am quite sure that there will be no forceful alteration of borders without the risk of an armed clash. [passage omitted]

LC Must Admit Its Illusions

[VJESNIK] What is you view about the proposals heard hear that autonomous units and provinces should be set up in Croatia?

[Tripalo] We are against this because I do not see any grounds for granting autonomy to any communes. [passage omitted]

Attitudes To Markovic

[VJESNIK] What kind of Assembly does the coalition favor?

[Tripalo] The main task of the Assembly will be to adopt a new constitution for Croatia and to change its structure,

because in its present state, with the Chamber of Associated Labor, and the way it is elected, the Assembly is absolutely untenable. I think that a one-house assembly would be the best solution, although there are views that the Chamber of Communes should be preserved considering the national heterogeneity and the need to prevent the centralization of the political system in Croatia. There are certainly reasons to discuss this issue.

[VJESNIK] Are you for the centralization or decentralization of politics in Croatia?

[Tripalo] I am all in favor of decentralization, greater rights of the communes, and more funds for the communes. [passage omitted]

[VJESNIK] The initial support that was extended to Ante Markovic and reforms of his government was followed by a spate of attacks on him by some coalition's members and leaders after Markovic had publicly expressed his support to the program of the LCC [former initials of the League of Communists of Croatia]—Party of Democratic Renewal. Why?

[Tripalo] These two things are not connected. If it is good, we do not care where the program originates from. As far as Markovic's program of reforms is concerned, we supported it because there was no better program. The other programs that were offered were worse. We also see that some positive results are being achieved in implementing the reform, although not all results, but this could not have been expected. What I have reservations about is the tendency toward the centralization of resources, which primarily affects the more developed republics. I am in favor of supporting Markovic in this transitional period in order to prevent social tensions as much as this is possible. They could endanger reforms as a whole. However, we cannot support the tendency toward the centralization of resources and powers and further burdens on the economy because both Croatia and Slovenia paid dearly so that the others would agree to reforms. Markovic has displayed enviable persistence and strength, he has instilled hope with his program, he has showed himself to be capable as a diplomat by having managed to convince other countries on the correctness of his concept, and he has even secured economic aid, but in the clear political sphere, I think that he does not have experience or talent and that he is, therefore, making compromises that could cost us a lot. Let us only consider the question of a rise in personal incomes and the solvency of banks. It appears that Croatia, which strictly observed the law, now has to help in rescuing banks in Serbia that did not observe the laws. We cannot carry on like that anymore. Croatia must not agree to that.

Bosnia-Hercegovina Law on Parties 'Controversial'

LD1704141790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0040 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 17 Apr (TANJUG)—"The freedom of association must not be used for the purposes of undermining the foundations of the constitutionally established socialist, self-managing, democratic system, for threatening the country's independence and the territorial integrity of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and of the SFRY, for violating constitutionally guaranteed freedoms and human rights, for jeopardizing peace and equal international cooperation, for fomenting national, racial, or religious hatred and intolerance, or for the purpose of incitment to commit criminal acts. Neither can these freedoms be used in any way offensive to public morals.

"Associations on the basis of national or religious affiliation are banned unless they are in accordance with the law regulating the legal position of religious communities."

Such is the full text of Article Four of the Law on Association passed by Bosnia-Hercegovina last February that, because of its second paragraph, has been described as controversial and untenable by many prominent legal experts, including those of communist inclinations. The republic's constitutional court has already been urged by individual citizens to revise the second paragraph that, in their view, is unconstitutional because it prevents one of the constitutional principles—national advancement—from being implemented. [passage omitted: even before complaints, the Constitutional Court had decided to revise the controversial paragraph]

In addition to the Democratic Action Party [Stranka Demokratske Akcije], which has already announced its intention to apply for registration and to continue in the footsteps of the prewar Yugoslav Muslim Organization as soon as the second paragraph of Article Four of the republic's law on association is changed, it is possible that soon other parties with national hallmarks will appear on the political scene in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Here in Sarajevo, a group of intellectuals has called for the relaunching of Prosvjeta, a prewar cultural and educational society that was a rallying point for Serbs of Bosnia-Hercegovnia. There are also plans to set up a body to serve not as a political party but as a guardian of cultural and overall achievements of Bosnia-Hercegovina Muslims. Once Article Four is revised, all these bodies and the branches of the political parties with national hallmarks from other republics would in a very short period of time be transformed into new parties and associations. In no time, the political map of Bosnia-Hercegovina would be changed beyond all recognition.

Macedonian LC Calls for New Party Congress

LD1704150890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1243 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Skopje, 17 Apr (TANJUG)—The Macedonian League of Communists [LCY] Central Committee [CC] has demanded that a new, regular League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] congress be held and that Milan Pancevski and Ljubomir Varoslija tender their resignations, because they lost the right to represent the LCY as a whole, after (?signing) the letter to LCY members.

The statement, issued today after the last Macedonian LC CC session, says that the letter to LCY members, sent

from the working and consultative session in Belgrade, "is yet another proof that the remaining members of the LCY CC Presidium, together with Milan Pancevski, are out of tune with everything that has happened since the break-off of the 14th, extraordinary, LCY congress."

Referring to the demands of members, organizations, and bodies of municipal, university, and city committees of the Macedonian LC, and invoking the discussion held at the last session of the Macedonian LC CC calling for Pancevski and Varoslija to tender their resignations, the statement also stresss that, if they do not resign, the Macedonian LC will not regard them as legitimate members of the LCY CC Presidium.

First Private Newspapers Start in Macedonia

LD1704190690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1744 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Skopje, 17 Apr (TANJUG)—MALI OGLASNIK [small adds] and DEL INFO are the first private newspapers in Macedonia, which officially received "the green light" from the Secretariat for Information of the Macedonian Executive Council.

The main content of these newspapers will be the market, marketing, advertising, information about trends and activities in economic life, and news about technology and science. The first private newspapers in Macedonia will give a prominent place to ecology and the right to healthy living.

Kole Kolev is the chief and responsible editor of MALI OGLASNIK and Ljupco Karovski, as just announced in the Secretariat for Information, will be the chief and responsible editor of DEL INFO.

Montenegrin SAWP Continues Existence

LD1704171690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1230 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Excerpt] Titograd, 17 Apr (TANJUG)—The Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] of Montenegro continues to exist in its present form, despite expectations that today would mark an end to this organization. Its republican conference was today expected to adopt a platform for reforming the Socialist Alliance. Due to a lack of quorum at today's session, however, this did not occur. After several hours of waiting, a decison was made to postpone the session until 27 April. [passage omitted]

Vojvodina Presidency on Situation in SFRY

LD1704174590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1407 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Novi Sad, 17 Apr (TANJUG)—The general political-security and economic-social situation in Yugoslavia is becoming increasingly complicated, and this is being contributed to by, in addition to the situation in Kosovo, the continuing arguments and confrontations between leaderships and the media war in the information media that has lost any sense of proportion. This is stressed, among other things, in the statement issued today from the session of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, which was held on 16 April.

The statement stresses that the increasingly complex economic situation is leading to more social stratification and dissatisfaction of working people and citizens. All this is inciting nationalism and chauvinism, which is manifest in separatist trends and attacks on all that is Yugoslav and common to all.

The Presidency considers, the statement continues, that as well as positive results, the program of economic reform is also producing considerable negative consequences. They arise, above all, out of the unselective credit and monetary policy, which is resulting in enormous illiquidity in a considerable section of the economy and a fall in production.

The equalizing of successful and unsuccessful enterprises is also having a negative effect, leading to social pressures that are seriously affecting the country's political-security situation.

The Vojvodina Presidency offers its support to all the measures of the SFRY Presidency and federal bodies that are aimed at preserving the unity of Yugoslavia, the equality of its nations and nationalities, and the implementation of constitutionality and the rule of law throughout the country. Also, on behalf of all its citizens, the Vojvodina Presidency gives its unqualified support to the Yugoslav People's Army's guarantee of independence and territorial integrity.

The Vojvodina Presidency will propose to the SFRY Presidency that it urgently examines the state of affairs with regard to the protection, under the SFRY Constitution, of the established order, and that an initiative is adopted in the SFRY Assembly for the abrogation of all amendments to the constitutions of the republics and provinces that are, in the view of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia, contrary to the SFRY Constitution, and of republican and provincial laws that are contrary to the SFRY Constitution, the statement from the Vojvodina Presidency session says.

Serbian Peasants Union To Meet 8 May

LD1704191290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1704 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Summary] Belgrade, 17 Apr (TANJUG)—It was agreed at today's meeting of presidents of municipal peasants' unions at the Coordination Committee for Social Organizations and Citizens' Associations attached to the Serbian Socialist Alliance of Working People Republican Conference that the founding assembly of the Serbian Peasants' Union [seljacki savez serbije] will be held on 8 May in Belgrade. So far it is far from being clear whether this new organization will be an independent party or just a pressure group within the Serbian Socialist Alliance of Working People.

LCY Central Committee To Meet 26 Apr

LD1704201890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1842 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Apr (TANJUG)—At its meeting today, the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] Central Committee [CC] Presidium, presided over by Milan Pancevski, summed up the reactions and proposals of the members, bodies, and organizations of the LC and the delegates to the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress in connection with the initiatives contained in the letter of the LCY CC members present at the working consultative session held on 30 March 1990.

In this regard, the statement from the session says, the Presidium has decided that a session of the LCY CC to consider the views and proposals of the members, bodies, and organizations of the LC and the delegates to the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress on the initiatives in the letter, and on other proposals relating to the renewal of the LCY, should be held on 26 April.

The Presidium also examined the directions and activities in connection with the reorganization and reduction of the technical and professional services of the LCY CC and the creation of material conditions for its future work.

Serbian, Bosnian Delegations View Situation

LD1804090790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1343 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Apr (TANJUG)—The delegations of the Serbia and Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists [LC] central committees, headed by Bogdan Trifunovic and Nijaz Durakovic, had talks in Belgrade today about the current political situation in the country and the situation in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] after the interruption of the 14th extraordinary congress.

It was stressed that there is complete agreement between the Serbian and Bosnia-Hercegovina LC that the Yugoslav character of the LCY as a modern political party acting on unified program bases should be maintained. The two delegations agreed that these new program and statute bases were included in the draft declaration of the 14th extraordinary congress and in the document of the LCY Central Committee [CC] Presidium. They are: the orientation toward democratic socialism; Yugoslavia as a federation of equal nations and nationalities; the key role of the citizen in the political system; party pluralism; economic reform; and the role of a united Yugoslav People's Army as a guarantor of Yugoslav territorial integrity.

With regard to relations within the LCY, it was stressed that they must be based on the principles of independence, equality of all its members, democracy, and the creative and decisive role of the LCY member, that is, on the principles of democratic equality.

The statement on the discussions stresses that the Serbian LC is of the opinion that the conditions are ripe for holding as soon as possible the third plenary session of the 14th LCY extraordinary congress, at which the declaration would be adopted, the LCY leadership elected, and decisions reached on the elaboration of a new program and statute and on preparations for holding a 15th LCY congress, since agreement on the basic program orientations exists and the decision of the 14th LCY extraordinary congressional delegates makes this binding. At the same time, it would be the best way to maintain the unity and renewal of the LCY and promote its transformation into a modern political party with socialist and democratic orientation.

Such an orientation is the expression of the will and mood of the Serbian LC members and the 14th LCY Extraordinary Congress Delegates, which is also confirmed by the positive reaction of the membership to the LCY CC letter.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina LC is of the opinion that the solution to the present situation could be a new LCY congress. It is judged that this could ensure the participation of a larger number of LCY parts because the social and political circumstances in which the republican and provincial LCs are working have changed considerably, and the republican and provincial organizations themselves are already changing into modern political parties with a considerably different program basis from the one that was the result of the LCY's general social position.

Party for Denationalization of Property Forms

AU1704203090 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Apr 90 p 9

[L.G. report: "What Has Been Taken Should Be Returned"]

[Excerpt] Split—The Initiative Committee of the Party for Denationalization of Property has been founded in Split. The program of this party does not express any political wishes or ambitions. The main aim of the party is to rally all those who were deprived through nationalization or in other ways of the property that they or their ancestors earned through work. This party can be joined by all SFRY citizens regardless of their nationality or religion. So far the party has over 3,000 members. [passage omitted]

Editor Urges Closing of KOMUNIST

LD1704123790 Belgrae TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0944 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 17 Apr (TANJUG)—Milovoje Tomasevic, acting director and editor-in-chief of the newspaper publishing enterprise KOMUNIST, has asked the League of Communists of Yugoslavia's Central Committee Presidium to pass a decision setting in motion procedures to close down this publishing house. In his letter, Tomasevic also advocates setting up SOCIJALIZAM, a new, socially owned enterprise which would have its own new director and editor-in-chief.

Over the last few months, Tomasevic notes, the publication of KOMUNIST editions has been discontinued in Ljubljana, Sarajevo, Titograd, Pristina, and Skopje, and no central edition of the paper has appered for some time. The paper is now published only in Zagreb, Belgrade (the edition for Serbia), and in Novi Sad. These three publications, however, have nothing in common except the name. In other words, Tomasevic says, the KOMUNIST publishing enterprise no longer exists. [passage omitted]

Loncar, Skubiszewski Discuss Ties, Germanys

LD1704225190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2052 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Apr (TANJUG)—The obligatory exchange of $200 U.S. introduced for East European tourists entering Yugoslavia and the question of the reunification of Germany were the main topics of the talks between the Yugoslav and Polish foreign ministers, which began this evening in Belgrade. The dialogue between Federal Foreign Affairs Secretary Budimir Loncar and Polish Foreign Affairs Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, who began a three-day official visit to Yugoslavia today, thus differed somewhat from the usual practice of examining "a wide range of issues."

The obligatory exchange of $200 that comes into force on 20 April was a subject raised by Minister Skubiszewski, who proposed that the Yugoslav Government should reexamine its decision because this is, as he said, "too great an amount for any Pole."

Budimir Loncar said that the Federal Executive Council [FEC] was forced to make such a decision because of the real chaos at the border crossings with Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria, and the illegal trade in goods and foreign currency by East European tourists.

Minister Skubiszewski recalled that on 1 January 1990, Poland abolished the obligatory exchange of $15 a day into Polish currency for Yugoslav citizens, and suggested that the relevant departments of the two governments should find a solution to the problem of the obligatory exchange of $200 in Yugoslavia.

The agenda for the talks between the two ministers, which, according to Budimir Loncar, "had been conceived in accordance with a conventional pattern, but given life to in terms of unconventional proportions," was filled in with the issue of German unification such as it is seen by Poland as a directly interested country.

The German question, according to the Polish foreign minister, is above all a question of his country's security, a part of which security, of course, is the recognition of the border between the two countries on the Oder and Neisse. Minister Skubiszewski believes that the most complex problem is that of the future military status of a united Germany, which Poland would prefer to see as a member of NATO and firmly tied to the process of building a secure Europe. For this reason, in the present situation, Poland sees the U.S. military presence in Europe as a "stabilizing factor," minister Skubiszewski said.

On the "unconventional agenda" during the two-and-one-half hours of talks between Loncar and Skubiszewski, enough time and interest was found to talk about economic cooperation between the two countries, which has been stagnating since the beginning of this year. In a situation when economic reform began to operate in both countries, and clearing was abolished as from 1 January and convertible currency payment introduced in commodity exchange, more modern forms of cooperation must obviously be sought, the two ministers said.

Yugoslavia believes that industrial cooperation in which our firms have an interest should be intensified. The possibility of Yugoslav enterprises taking part in the construction and reconstruction of industrial plants in Poland was mentioned, in exchange for the import of machinery and equipment for thermal power plants from that country.

Further on First Meeting

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[Text] Belgrade, April 17—Poland's Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski arrived here today for a three-day official visit paid at an invitation from Yugoslav Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar.

The ministers are to exchange views on the basic changes taking place in Europe with particular attention paid to the issue of the German unification and in this context on the new concept of ensuring security in Europe.

The agenda of talks provides for, among other items, matters of regional links in Europe, the Bratislava initiatives, especially the one concerning economy. The foreign affairs ministers of Poland and Yugoslavia, Krzysztof Skubiszewski and Budimir Loncar held the first round of talks in Belgrade this evening. They focused on bilateral relations and the internal situation of both countries. Both ministers stressed that the development of these relations was positive and that political and economic reforms were additionally conducive in this respect.

Discussing economic cooperation, the ministers accentuated the need to boost it while consolidating the high level of co-production and capitalizing on the conducive factor of changing to settlement of accounts in hard currency.